

## ALMANACK;

O R,

Monethly Observations and Predictions,  
for the Year of our Lord, 1654.

## FORE-TELLING

- I The great and wonderful Mutation of Times, and Change of Government, in England, Scotland, and Ireland.
- II The proclaiming of open Wars by the Christian Kings and Princes, and the setting up of their Royal Standards.
- III Their Proceedings touching the King of Scots, and the lamentable and unparallel'd Engagement that will happen between the two mighty Fleets of England and Europe.
- IV. The event and success of this great and memorable Sea fight; and the dying of the curled Waves with the blood of Princes and Nobles, &c.
- V The advance of the King of Scots, and divers English Lords with another gallant Fleet; and the total vanquishing and dispersing their great Armado.
- VI The calling to an account the Officers of the Nation; and the beheading of divers great Ones, and Commanders-men.
- VII The taking off all Oppressions and Burdens from the people, and the restoring of them to their just Laws, Liberties, and Freedoms.
- VIII The taking away and extirpating of the Power, Rule, and Government of the Tyrannical Norman Sword.
- IX The sad and woful condition that women with child will be exposed unto, if not prevented, by the ensuing Poisons here administered.

Published for the general good of the Commonwealth of England, by a cordial Lover of his Native-Country's Rights and Liberties; and freely exposed to the view of all Cities, Towns, and Corporations.

Ortho. 31.

Imprinted at London for G. HORTON, 1654. 1654



# The Bloody

ALMANACK

10

Monthly Obligations and

for the Year of our Lord, 1674.

FOR FILLING

1. The first and most important thing to do is to make sure that the data is accurate and complete. This means checking for any missing or incorrect information and making sure that all the data is entered correctly.

1911

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BRITAIN

**BRIAN**  
**NIGHT**

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1944-1945

V The measures of the King of Great Britain

1947

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✓ I, the undersigned, being the Officer of the Station, hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears in the files of the Station.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

ALL THE LIVES OF THE GREAT AND GOOD

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text]*

1111 The following are the names of the persons who have been

...of the ...

1940

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text]*

Published for the Council of the

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1801. It is a formal address, and it begins with the words "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration."

W. J. ... ..

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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

freely exposed to the view of all Chinese. I was

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13. 44. 1940

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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# The Bloody Almanack, &c.

Or Monethly Observations and Predictions for the  
Year of our Lord, 1654.

## Observations on January.

**D**eep will the consultations be this moneth throughout Europe, and that about such matters as belong not to the Vulgar to know; for he that lives to the middle of the Moneth shall see all the Princes of Europe in a maze; and the Commonalty sit by the fire, and complain to one another of their Oppression. *But now he unto the Instruments thereof.*

For, *no assistance from the sacred Hill  
Can crave; nor can I dip my feather'd quill  
In Helicon; the water's muddy grown,  
And I must mourn to see Jove and Saturne frown:  
Well I be content, and if thou hast no will  
To sing look on the Times, and weep thy fill.*

Expect great Wind and Rain the 7 day. New moon 48 min. past 3  
in the afternoon the 8 day. Full moon the 22 day at 4 in the afternoon.  
Term begins 23 day.

## Observations on Feb.

**T**his moneth begins pitifully with misty, foggy, stinking, noy-  
some, cloudy, frosty weather, and turbulent actions are proba-  
bly like to ensue such troublesome Ayr, which may make but bad  
musicke in the ears of some great Ones, who will justly be called to  
an account for their unjust stewardship, in betraying their Trust, de-  
frauding the Poor, rejecting the fatherless, and despising the widow:  
O wicked Satyrs of the Times! that make Religion a cloak for all  
Villany! look to it; the Time is coming, that ere day you must pay for  
all;

all; 'Tis reason the Nation should have an account given them of their moneys. And, indeed, the Law being once more called into question, there will a people rise, and say, *They know no reason why they should be governed by the Norman Laws; now the Norman Race is taken away by the same Instrument that brought it in, viz.*

## The } S W O R D.

Certainly, many *Overtures* will be made about rectifying the *Law, Governor, and Government* towards the end of this month, when the Wind descends from the highest Firmament, and the Rain issues forth like showers of blood. *New moon* the 7 day, half an hour past 6 in the morn. The 12 day *Term* ends. Full moon 40 min. past 6 in the morning.

### Observations on March.

A Mad world my masters; the month begins with a *startling* countenance, and that's no wonder; 'tis of late found to be the best Trade in this Nation; the more is England's sorrow. Yet they which formerly used to command the people, will by the people now be commanded; and reason good; *what never a good world since the servant was above the Master.* Many great Heads begin to totter; and that upon crimes no less than capital; although they conceived the World would have always stood in *stain quo.* If the souldiers be impetuous, I cannot help it; *they'll do what they list for all us.* Ill times are coming, and 'tis like to be a sad year for children; *beware their lives.* The Law is much controverted; any many Lawyers suffer; so must Committee men; *A fair riddance.* The 8 day *new moon* half an hour past 6 at night.

### Observations on April.

This month begins very serenely with the *common people*, but it will scarce end so with the great Ones. Great winds about the 9 day, and high actions towards the 14. If you would hinder the growing of *Crabs*, the best way is to pluck up the *Trochy* the *Roots.* Such as have stood stoutly for the liberty of this Nation in oppressing Times, when Will was a Law, are now somewhat esteemed; *better once then never.* Women with child must look forward labours; if not prevented, by abstaining from Strong waters, Wine, Ale, and such hot Liquids. Thunder and Lightning, Rain and Hail ends the month; *New moon* the 21 day at 2 in the afternoon.

*Observations on May.*

**T**his moneth begins with *thundering actions*, and *lamentable times*, which causeth great sadness, and little mirth. 'Tis never good to be too stiff-necked; therefore look about ye Clergy-men, your *Cake is dough*. A strange Generation appears; and many an honest man will probably be brought to the Touch-stone: Alas! is it not great pity that cheating and cozening should be turned the two main pillars of the Nation: 'Twas not so in the dayes of our fore-fathers, and I hope the wisdom of the State will so decree it, that it shall not be permitted in these our Times. An eminent Officer is like to be called in question; Lawyers mourn, Heirs weep for their lost inheritance; Priests mutter and whine; the wind blows; and so the month ends. — New moon the 6 day, half an hour past 11 at noon. Full moon the 21 day at 6 in the morning.

*Observations on June.*

**W**hen mens actions are not justifiable by the Rule of Truth, and Law of Reason, the last shift is to flatter with the people; and when the Lyons skin will not serve the turn, to take the Foxes: But when God hath decreed Justice shall be done, all the shifts of man will not avail.

*Sol smiles on Saturn, but on Jove doth frown,  
 Vertue's a Beggar, Pleas hath got the Crown;  
 And how d'ye think she got it? 'Tis no matter  
 If I tell truth; at first she learns to flatter,  
 Call'd greatness, goodness; upon that account  
 She took her rise, rides Lady Paramount.*

Thunder and Rain ends the month. New moon the 4 day 3 quart. past 7 at night. Full moon the 19 day half an hour past 8 at night.

*Observations on July.*

**T**he Synod of the Sun and Mars is neer the little dog-star, I am afraid he will bite, and that Holland will know to their sorrow; for, by reason of their Rebellion against the King of Spain, the European Princes deserts their cause, & leaves them to the mercy of their conquering enemy. Men give gallant words at the beginning of this month, and promise the Commonalty much good; I wish we may find it, it hath been too long lost.

*The Stars are friends, (a joyful sight to see)  
 And love each other, pray why do not we?  
 This is the Reason, it cannot be deny'd,  
 They mind Gods heavenly Will, we wealth & pride.*

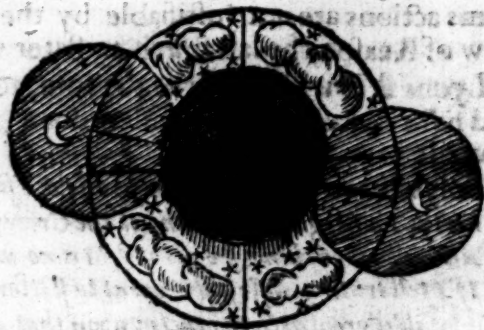


*But this cannot last long, would you know why?  
All things must change, and so must low and high.*

New moon the 3 day at 4 in the afternoon. Full moon at a quarter past 10 in the morning.

*Observations on August.*

**H**onest Actions are towards, is not that a wonder? And our long-lost Liberties begin to appear in great splendor. Let us therefore weigh diligently the beginning of things, and suspend judgment till we see the end. Yet the Princes of Europe are all in a maze, and all the World in a wonder what God determines to do. Strange and supernatural sights will be seen in the Ayr, and about the middle of the month tempestuous weather. — New moon the 2 day about 11 at night. Full moon the 17 day at night, visibly eclipsed, according to the ensuing figure,



*Observations on September.*

**G**reat and sad Disasters are like to befall many eminent Officers, and the influence of the Conjunction of Saturn and Mars may in all probability do England the greatest good, that ever was done to it since William the Bastard conquered it, I mean, restore it to its desired Liberty, and take off all Burdens, Oppressions, and Taxes, from the wearied shoulders of the people. To which, let all true English men say,

**Amen, Amen.**

Full moon the 16 day, about 11 in the morning. New moon the 28 day a quarter past 11 at noon.

*Observations on October.*

**T**he Kings of France, Denmark, and Spain, agree unanimously in oppressing the people; but a dismal time is coming; and great scuffling

scuffling will there be to maintain *Monarchy*, but the *Commonalty* will not be content with bread and water, so long as they know where to get roft-meat at a cheaper rate. A gallant Ayr attends the Farmer this month, and pleasant weather to sow his corn. Full moon the 15 day a quarter, past 9 at night. New moon about 4 in the morning.

*Observations on November.*

Great preparations for war throughout all Christendom, and extraordinary promises are made to *Charles* the second; 17 Kings, Princes, and Dukes, set up their Banners; but upon the total dissolution of the rebellious Dutch they appear no more visible. The Magistrates of Europe will look with rueful faces; Repentance sometimes comes too late, O strange fate! Accomptants and Committees must be called to account what they have done with the *Treasure* of the Nation. It would melt a heart of stone to see how piteously they look through a prison grate, who have formerly had the world at will, and were such *Sots* to think that this life would last alwayes, when day and night teacheth them all things are subject to change. There will appear this year a great Eclipse of the Sun, but it will happen on the 7 day of Feb. according to the ensuing Type.



*Observations on Decemb.*

Beware your Heads, ye Royal Cedars, the *Scorpions* heart is venomous; sundry eminent Gentlemen are brought to the bar of justice, and soon after made shorter by the Head. A bloody Tragedy. — About the beginning of this moneth *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*, seems to be called in question, and that great *Liberty* which so many has sought after in their stout contending for the priviledges of *Magna Charta*, is found out to be nothing else then what this poor

*pitiful Nation*, when it was unluckily vanquished by a *Rafford*, by fair terms obtained from the hands of a *Conqueror*. This will scarce suit with *English mens* brains at this time: It is a real Truth indeed, we have not so much liberty, or to *speak more properly*, we are not in greater bondage then *Magna Charta* tyed us too. The cause of this, saith *Nich: Culpepper*, I conceive to be in our former *Parliaments*, who when They should have been enlarging the liberty of their subject, spent their time in consultation how far the bounds of a *Forrest* must go, who must keep a *Park*, and who must not; who must keep *Hounds*, *Greyhounds*, and *Mastiff dogs*, and who must not; what price must be paid for shooting of *Pigeons*, *Partridges*, and *Pheasants*, and thus they swept the Liberty of the Nation up and down, as the maid swept the reverence about the house, till at last she lost it: But the year seems to end in a better posture, pretty pleasing to the *Commonalty*, and not without great hopes of our desired *Liberty*.

The *Hollander* grows as imperious as potent, and entertaineth sundry Engagements from Us; but being beaten to his own doors, at last invites to their assistance the *Dans*, *Swedes*, and *French*; with whom comes aboard the *K. of Scots*, his brother *James*, the Lord *Digby*, *Maj. Gen. Massey*, the Lord *Erwen*, *Sir Lewis Dives*, and divers other *English Gentlemen*; who, after a mighty and unparallel'd Engagement, will become wholly subdued and vanquished, and thus, saith the Lord *Ogleby*, will this Royal Navy be brought to

An End.

Dono

PRINTED

JOSEPH

## COALPITS

about NEWCASTLE upon Tyne.

**E**NGLAND's a perfect World; has Indies too,  
Correct your Maps; Newcastle is Peru,  
Letch haughty *Spaniard* triumph, till 'tis told  
Our sooty Mineralls purify his Gold,  
This will sublime and hatch th'abortive Oare.

When the Sun tires, and Starres can do no more.  
No Mines are current unrefin'd and grosse;  
Coals make the Sterling, Nature but the Droffe,  
For Metalls (*Bacchus*-like) two Births approve,  
Heav'n's bear's the *Semele*, and ours the *Jove*.  
Thus Art doth polish Nature; 'tis her Trader  
So every Madame has her Chamber-maid.

Who'd dote on Gold? a thing so strange and odde;  
'Tis most contemptible when made a God.  
All sinnes and mischief thence have rise, and swell,  
One *Indies* more would make another Hell,  
Our Mines are innocent, nor will the North  
Tempt poor Mortality with too much worth,  
They'r not too precious; rich enough to fire  
A Lover, yet make none Idolater.

The moderate value of our guiltlesse Oare  
Makes no man Atheist, nor no woman Whore.

Yet why should hallow'd *Vesta*'s glowing Shrine  
Deserve more honour then a flaming Mine?

These pregnant Wombs of Heat would fitter be  
Then a few Embers, for a Deity.

Had he our Pits, the *Persian* would admire  
No Sun, but warm's Devotion at our Fire.

Hee'd leave the trotting Whipster, and prefer  
This profound *Kulcan* 'bove that Wagoner.

For, wants he Heat or Light? would he have store  
Of both? 'tis here; and what can Suns give more?

Nay, what's that Sun, but (in a different name)  
A Coal-pit Rampant, and a Mine on Flame?

Then let this Truth reciprocally run,  
The Sun's Heav'n's Coalery, and Coals our Sun.

A Sun.

Oct: 31 1653



A Sun that scorches not, lock'd up i'th' Deep;  
The Bandog's chain'd, the Lion is asleep.  
That tyrant Fire, which uncontrol'd doth rage,  
Here's calm and hush'd, like Bajazet i'th' Cage.  
For in each Coal-pit there doth (couchant) dwell  
A muzzled *Aetna*, and an innocent Hell,

Kindle the Cloud, you'l Lightning then descry,  
Then will a Day break from the gloomy sky:  
Then you'l unbutton though *December* blow,  
And sweat i'th' midst of Iceicles and Snow:  
'Tis Dog-dayes then at Christmasse: this is all  
The Year made *June* and *Equinoctiall*.

If Heat offend, our Pits afford us Shade,  
Thus Summer's Winter, Winter Summer made.  
What need we Baths? what need we Bowre or Grove?  
A Coal-pit's both a Venti-duct and Stove.

Such Pits and Caves were Palaces of old:  
Poor Innes (God wot) yet in an Age of Gold,  
And (what would now be thought a strange Design)  
To build a House, was then to Undermine  
People liv'd under ground: and happy dwellers,  
Whose joviall Habitations were all Cellars!  
Those Primitive times were innocent, for then  
Man, who turn'd after Fox, but made his Den,

But see a Fleet of Rivals trim and fine,  
To court the rich *Infants* of our Mine!  
Hundreds of grim *Leanders* dare confront,  
For this lov'd *Here*, the low'd *Hells* Spout,  
'Tis an *Armado* Royall doth in gage  
For some new *Helens* with this Equipage:  
Prepar'd too (should we their Addresies barre)  
To force their Mistresse with a ten-year's warre:  
But that our Mine's a common Good, a Joy  
Not made to ruine, but enrich our *Troop*,  
Thus went those gallant Heroes of old *Greece*,  
(The *Argonauts*) in quest o'th' Golden Fleece.  
But O, these bring it with them, and conspire  
To pawn that Hoole for our Smeoke and Fire,  
Silver's but Ballast, this they bring a shoar  
That they may treasure up our better Ore,

For

For this they venture Rocks and Stormes, defy  
 All the extremities of Sea and Sky.  
 For the glad purchase of this precious Mould  
 Cowards dare Pirates, Misers part with Gold,  
 Hence 'tis, that when the doubtfull Ship sets forth,  
 The knowing Needle still directs it North:  
 And Nature's secret wonder (to attest  
 Our *Indies* worth) discards both East and West.

For 'tis not only Fire commends this Spring;  
 A Coal-pit is a Mine of every thing.  
 We sink a *Jack-of-all-trades* Shop, and found  
 An inver'd Burse, an Exchange under ground.  
 This *Probus* earth converts to what you'd ha'ce;  
 Now you may weav't to Silk, then coynt to Plate:  
 Or (what's a Metamorphosis more dear)  
 Dissolve it, and 'twill melt to *London Beer*.  
 For whatsoe're that gawdy City boasts,  
 Each Moneth derives to these attractive Coasts.  
 We shall exhaust their Chamber, and devour  
 The Treasures of *Guild-hall*, the *Mint*, the *Tower*.  
 Our *Statues* their morgag'd Streets will soon divide;  
*Blathon* owe *Corn-hill*, *Stella* share *Cheap-side*.  
 Thus will our Coal-pit's Charity and Pity  
 At distance under-Mine and Fire the City,  
 Should we exact, they'd pawn their Wives, and treat  
 To swap those Coolers for our sovereign Heat.  
 'Bove Kisses and Embraces Fire controule  
 No *Venus* heightens like a Peck of Coales,  
*Medea* was the Drudge of some old Sire,  
 And *Aeson's* bath a lusty Sea-coal Fire.  
 Chimneys are old men's Mistresses, there innes  
 A modern Dalliance with their meazled Shinnes,  
 To all Defects the Coal-heap brings a Cure;  
 Gives Life to Age, and Raiment to the Poor.  
 Pride first wore Cloaths; Nature disdaines Attire:  
 She made us Naked 'cause she gave us Fire,  
 Full Wharfs are Wardrobes; and the Taylour's charm  
 Belongs to th' Collier, He must keep us warm.

The quilted Alderman with all's Aray,  
 Finds but cold comfort on a Frosty day.

Girt

Girt, wrapp'd and muffled, yet with all that stir,  
 Scarce warm when smother'd in his drouzy Fur.  
 Not proof against keen Winter's Batteryes,  
 Should he himself wear all's own Liveries.  
 But Chil-blains under Silver Spurs bewailes,  
 And in embroider'd Buck-skins blows his Nalles.

Rich Meadows and full Cropps are elsewhere found;  
 We can reap Harvest from our Barren ground,  
 The bald, parch'd Hills that circumscribe our *Time*,  
 Are no lesse fruitfull in their hungry Mine.  
 Their unfledg'd tops so well content our Palats,  
 We envy none their Nosegaies and their Sallds.  
 A gay, rank Soil (like a young Gallant) growes,  
 And spends it self, that it may wear fine Cloaths,  
 Whilst all its worth is to its back confin'd;  
 Ours weares plain Out-sides, but is richly Lin'd,  
 Winter's above, 'tis Summer underneath;

A trusty *Morglay* in a Rusty Sheath,  
 As precious Sables sometimes interlace  
 A wretched Sarge, or Grogram Caslock-case,  
 Rocks own no Spring, are pregnant with no Showers;  
 Crytall and Gemms grow there in stead of Flowers.  
 In stead of Roses, Beds of Rubies sweet;  
 And Emeralds recompense the Violet.

Dame Nature, not (like other Madames) weares  
 (Where she is bare) Pearls on her Breast or Hares;  
 What though our Fields present a Naked sight,  
 A Paradise should be an *Adamsite*.

The Northern Lad his Bonny Lassie throwes down,  
 And gives her a Black Bagge for a Green Gown.

FINIS.

3

*K*  
Cabala,  
Myſteries of State,

IN  
LETTERS of the great MINISTERS  
of K. *James*. and K. *Charles*.

WHEREIN  
Much of the publique Manage of Affaires  
is related.

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*Faithfully Collected by a Noble Hand.*

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LONDON, *Octob. 31.*

Printed for *M. M. G. Bodell*, and *T. Collins*, and are to be sold at  
their Shop at the Middle-Temple Gate in Fleetstreet,

1653 1653







## The Preface to the Reader.



*Here is published a Piece, not to be matched in Antiquity; a Collection, not so much of Letters, as of the mysteries of Government, the wisdom, and manage of Publick businesses in the late Reigns, where the great Ministers of State are presented naked, their Consultations, Designs, Policies, the things done by them, are exposed to every mans eye, as they were brought forth by themselves. The most famous of all Modern Historians glories in the helps and advantages he had above all men else to write;*

## The Preface.

*Sirada.* He came (so he tells us) prepared and furnished from the Cabinets of Princes, he had seriously perused, and sifted their Letters and Orders; the Letters of the Illustrious Persons employed by them, the private Commands, Dispatches, and Instructions of Embassies; Debates, and Resolutions of Councils, without which all History must be lame and imperfect.

This was the way to make the causes of actions as visible as their effects, and without which all Diligence and Faithfulness else will do little. Much of the History of the last years of King James, and beginnings of King Charles may be here read. Here the height of the mighty Favourite the Duke of Buckingham may be taken; The Arts and Subtleties of Spain, of the Conde Gondomar, and the English-Spanish Party are discovered; the Journey into Spain, breach of the Spanish, overtures for the French Match, for the renning Leagues with the enemies of the Spanish

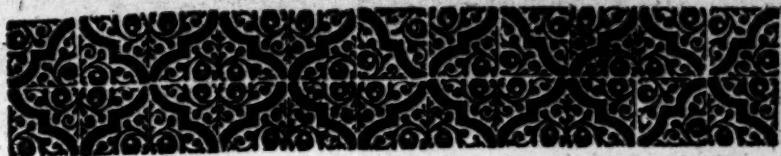
## The Preface.

*Spanish Pride and Universality; the carriage of the Imperialists, French, Netherlanders, and other Concurrents of those Reigns, are exactly Related : with the Practises of our home-Roman Catholicks, and growth of those who were here called Puritans then; the Secrets of the Court and State; without any false glosse to writhe, or streighten, to deprave or extenuate, with more truth and sincerity, then all the Annals can show; where Passion and Interest sway oftentimes too much, and the cleanest hand makes blots and stains, carried away with Love or Hatred, to the side or man. Here are no snares set to catch or inveagle any mans judgment, all things are left clearly to their own worth and Reputation.*

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OF THE  
**L E T T E R S**

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*E. of Sommerfet to K. JAMES.*

**B**Y this Gentleman your Majesties Lieutenant, I understand of some halt you made, and the Cause of it, at such time as he offered to your Majestie my Letters. But soon after, your Majestie could resolve your self and behold me nothing so diffident of you, but in humble language petitioning your favour; for I am in hope, that my condition is not capable of so much more misery, as that I need to make

my self a passage to you by such way of intercession. This which followes after, I offer your Majestie, though not as to your self, for upon lesse motive you can find favour for me: Now I need onely move, not plead, before your Majestie, as my Case doth stand, for what I seek to have done, followes upon what you have already done, as a Consequence and succeeding growth of your own act. But to the effect, that your Majestie may see that there is enough to answer those (if any such there be) as do go about to pervert the exercise of your Power, and to turn it from its own clear excellency, for to minister unto their passions: I have presumed to this end to awake your Majesties own Concept upon this subject, which can gather to it self better, and more able defences in my behalf upon this view; for though the acts of your mercy which are not communicable, nor the Causes of them with others, as derived from those secret motives, which are only sensible and privie to your own heart, and admit of no search or discovery to any general satisfaction, and that under this protection I might guard my particular sufficiently; yet my Case needs not hide it self, but attend the dispute with any,

B

that



that would put upon it a monſtrous and heavy ſhape. For though that I muſt acknowledge, that both life and eſtate are forfeit to you by Law, yet ſo forfeited, as the ſame Law gives you the ſame power to preſerve, as it doth to puniſh, whereby your Maſtieſties higher prerogative doth not wreſtle with it, nor do you infringe thoſe grounds by which you have ever governed; ſo as the reſiſtance is not great that your Maſtieſtie hath, for to give life, and which is leſſe, in the gift of eſtate, for that the Law caſts wholly upon your ſelf, and yields it as fit matter for the exerciſe of your goodneſſe. Once it was your Maſtieſties giſt to me, ſo it may be better not taken then a ſecond time given; for it is common to all men for to avoid to take that which hath been once their own. And I may ſay farther, that Law hath not been ſo ſevere upon the ruine of innocent poſterity, nor yet Cancelled, nor cut off the merits of Anceſtors, before the politique hand of State had contrived it into thoſe ſeveral forms, as fitted to their ends and government. To this I may adde, that that whereupon I was judged, even the Crime it ſelf might have been none, if your Maſtieſties hand had not once touched upon it, by which all acceſſe unto your favour was quite taken from me. Yet as it did at length appear, I fell, rather for want of well defending, then by the violence or force of any proofes: for I ſo far forſook my ſelf, and my Cauſe, as that it may be a queſtion whether I was more Condemned for that, or for the matter it ſelf which was the ſubject of that dayes Controverſie. Then thus far nothing hath appeared, wherein your Maſtieſtie hath extended for me your power beyond the reaſonable bound, neither doth any thing ſtand ſo in the way of your future proceedings, but rather make eaſie the acceſſe of your Maſtieſties favour to my relief.

What may then be the cauſe, that Malice can pitch upon, wherefore your Maſtieſtie ſhould not proceed for to accompliſh your own work? Aſperſions are taken away by your Maſtieſties letting me become ſubject to the utmoſt power of Law, with the lives of ſo many of the offendours, which yieldeth the world ſubject of ſorrow rather then appetite to more bloud, but truth and innocency protect themſelves in poor men, much more in Kings. Neither ever was there ſuch aſperſion (God knowes) in any poſſibility towards your Maſtieſtie, but amongſt thoſe who would create thoſe pretences to miſlead your Maſtieſtie, and thereby make me miſerable. If not this (whereof the virtue, and uſe, was in the former time and now determined) there is not any but your pleaſure. It is true, I am forfeited to your Maſtieſtie, but not againſt you by any treaſonable or unfaithful

*E. of Sommerſet to R. James.*

ful act. Besides, there is to be yielded a distinction of men as in faults; in which I am of both under the nearest degrees of exception; yet your Majestie hath pardoned life and estate to Traytors, and to strangers, sometimes the one, sometimes the other; Nay to some concerned in this businesse wherein I suffer, you have pardoned more unto, then I desire; who as (it is reported) if they had come to the test, had proved Copper, and should have drunk of the bitter Cup as well as others. But I do not by this envy your favours to any person, nor seek I to draw them in the yolk with my self, but applaud your Majesties goodnesse, being in that respect in a neerer possibility to come at me. Besides this, to *Elvis* your Majestie hath given <sup>Mr. El-</sup> *vis* estate, which is a greater gift then life, because it extends to posterity, who was the worst deserver in this business; an unoffended instrument might have prevented all after-mischief, who for his own ends suffered it, and by the like arts afterwards bewrayed it. To this I may adde *Tresham* in the Powder Treason, upon whose successours I do not cast any of his infamy; yet he preserved himself to posterity, so as what he, or others such as he, have defrauded by the arts of Law, and whom their own unfaithfulnesse made safe, I have much adoe to hold by ingenuity, and Confidence. How may it be, that because I distrusted not your Majestie, or because it returned in your power from whom I had it, it is in danger to be broken or dismembered. Let me hope that there is nothing which by favour may be excused, or by industry might have been avoided, that will fail me, where your Majestie is to determine. It is not I who thus put your Majestie in mind importunately: It is he that was your Creature, it is *Sommerſet*, with all your honours, and envious greatnesse, that is now in question. Kings themselves are protected from the breach of Law by being Favorites and Gods anointed, which gives your Majestie the like priviledge over yours; As I took from *Dr. Duns* in <sup>Dr. Duns.</sup> his Sermon, that the goodnesse of God is not so much acknowledged by us in being our Creator, as in being our Redeemer; nor in that he hath chosen us, as that nothing can take us out of his hands, which in your Majesties remembrance let me challenge, and hope for: For the first accessess of favour, they may be ascribed to ones own pleasing themselves, but that appears to be for our sakes and for our good, when the same forsakes not our civil deserts. This redemption I crave, not as to my own person, but with your benefits once given; nor do I assume them very deep, for I have voluntarily departed from the hopes of pension, place, office; I only cleave to that which is so little, as that it will suffer no pairing, or diminution.

*E. of Sommerſet to R. James.*

And as in my former Letters, ſo by this I humbly crave of your Maieſtie not to let the practiſes of Court work upon your Son the Prince, not fearing your ſufferance of my loſſe in that particular ſo much, (for I cannot loſe it, but willingly all with it) as for to take off the Stage, that which in the attempt may prove inconvenient. And conſider I pray your Maieſtie, that my hope in deſiring to paſſe theſe bad times, was to be reſtored to my fortunes; others are made unhappy by me, if otherwiſe, and then I loſe my end. I ſpeak of impairing, of changing, or ſupplying, as of any other way, all ſuch alterations, and ruine, are alike, without I be worthy of your gift, and that I can be worthy of all, that Law can permit you to give, or caſt upon your Maieſtie by a more neerer title, as it doth by this; I ſhall account them equal evils, that leave nothing, or a patched and proportioned one, changed or tranſlated from one thing to another.

But if your Maieſtie have any reſpects to move you to ſuſpend your good towards me; let that which is mine reſt in your own hands, till that you find all oppoſite humours conformed to your purpoſe. I have done wrong to my ſelf, thus to entertain ſuch a doubt of your Maieſty; but the unrelenting of adverſaries, which when you will have them, will ſooner alter; and that all this while I have received nothing of preſent notice for direction, or to comfort me, from your Maieſty, hath made me to expoſtulate with my ſelf thus hardly. For God is my judge Sir, I can never be worthy to be; if I have theſe markes put upon me of a Traytor, as that tumbling and diſordering of that eſtate would declare the divorce from your preſence, laies too much upon me, and this would upon both.

I will ſay no farther, neither in that which your Maieſty doubted my aptneſſe to fall into, for my Cauſe, nor my Confidence is not in that diſtreſſe as for to uſe that mean of interceſſion, nor of any thing beſides, but to remember your Maieſtie, that I am the Workmanſhip of your hands, and bear your ſtamp deeply imprinted in all the characters of favour; that I was the firſt plant ingrafted by your Maieſties hand in this place, therefore not to be unrooted by the ſame hand, leſt it ſhould taint all the ſame kind, with the touch of that fatalneſſe; And that I was even the Son of a Father, whoſe ſervices are regiſtered in the firſt honours and impreſſions I took of your Maieſties favour, and laid there as a foundation ſtone of that building; Theſe and your Maieſties goodneſſe for to receive

*The Lo. Chancellor Bacon to the Lords.*

receive them, is that I rely upon: So praying for your Majesties prosperity, I am in all humbleness

*Your Majesties loyal servant, and  
Creature,*

R. Sommersett.

*The Lo. Chancelour Bacon to the Lords.*

*If it may please your Lordships,*

I shall humbly crave at your Lordships hands a benigne interpretation of that which I shall now write; for words that come from wasted spirits, and an oppressed mind, are more safe in being deposited in a noble Construction, then in being Circled with any reserved Caution. Having made this as a protection to all, which I shall say, I will go on, but with a very strange entrance (as may seem to your Lordships at the first) for in the midst of a state of as great affliction, as I think a mortal man can endure, (honour being above life) I shall begin with the professing gladnesse in some things.

The first is, that hereafter the greatnesse of a Judge or Magistrates, shall be no Sanctuary, or protection to him against guiltinesse, which in few words is the beginning of a golden world.

The next, that after this example, it is like that Judges will flie from any thing in the likenesse of Corruption (though it were at a great distance) as from a Serpent, which tendeth to the purging of the Courts of Justice, and reducing them to their true honour and splendour. And in these two points God is my witnesse (though it be my fortune to be the anvil upon which these good effects are beaten and wrought) I take no small comfort. But to passe from the motions of my heart, whereof God is onely Judge, to the merits of my Cause, whereof your Lordships are onely Judges, under God, and his Lievtenant; I do understand, there hath been expected from me heretofore some justification, and therefore I have chosen one onely justification instead of all others, out of the justification of Job, for after the clear submission and Confession, which I shall now make unto your Lordships, I hope I may say, and justifie with Job in these words, *I have not hid my sin as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosome.* This is the only justification I will use. It resteth therefore:



fore that without fig-leaves, I do ingenuously confesse and acknowledge, that having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the house, but enough to inform my Conscience and memory, I find matter both sufficient and full, to move me to desert the defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me. Neither will I trouble your Lordships by singling out particulars, which I think may fall off. *Quid te exempta juvat spinis de millibus una?* Neither will I prompt your Lordships to observe upon the proofes, where they come not home, or the scruples touching the Credit of the Witnesses: Neither will I present unto your Lordships, how far a defence might in divers things extenuate the offence, in respect of the time, or manner of the gift, or the like circumstances, but onely leave these things to spring out of your own noble thoughts, and observations of the evidence, and examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God shall put in your minds, and so submit my self wholly to your piety and grace.

And now that I have spoken to your Lordships, as Judges, I shall say a few words unto you, as Peers, and Prelates, humbly commending my Cause to your noble Minds, and magnanimous affections.

Your Lordships are not onely Judges, but Parliamentary Judges, you have a farther extent of arbitrary power, then other Courts: and if you be not tied to the ordinary course of Courts, or presidents, in point of strictnesse and severity, much more in points of mercy and mitigation. And yet if any thing I should move might be contrary to your honourable and worthy ends to introduce a reformation, I should not seek it. But herein I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to tell you a story. *Titus Manlius* took his sons life for giving battail against the prohibition of his General. Not many years after the like severity was pursued by *Papirius Cursor* the Dictator against *Quintus Maximus*, who being upon the point to be sentenced, was by the intercession of some principal persons of the Senate spared; whereupon *Livie* maketh this grave and gracious observation, *Neque minus firmata est disciplina militaria periculo Quinti Maximi, quam mirabili supplicio Titi Manlii*. The discipline of War was no lesse established by the questioning onely of *Quintus Maximus*, then by the punishment of *Titus Manlius*. And the same reason is of the reformation of Justice; for the questioning of men of eminent place hath the same terrour, though not the same rigour with the punishment. But my Case stayeth not there, for my humble desire is, that his Majestie would take the Seal into his hands, which

which is a great downfal, and may serve I hope in it self for an expiation of my faults.

Therefore if mercy and mitigation be in your Lordships power, and do no wayes crosse your ends, why should I not hope of your favours and Commiserations? Your Lordships may be pleased to behold your chief Pattern the King our Sovereign, a King of incomparable Clemencie, and whose heart is instructable for wisdom and goodnesse. You well remember, that there sate not these hundred years before in your House a Prince (and never such a Prince) whose presence deserveth to be made memorable by records, and acts, mixt of mercy and justice. Your selves are either Nobles (and Compassion ever beateth in the veins of noble blood,) or Reverend Prelates, who are the servants of him, that would *not break the bruised reed, nor quench smoking flaxe.*

You all sit upon a high Stage, and therefore cannot but be more sensible of the changes of humane Condition, and of the fall of any from high places. Neither will your Lordships forget that there are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia hominis*, and that the beginning of reformation, hath a contrary power to the pool of *Bethesda*; for that had strength onely to cure him, that was first cast in, and this hath strength to hurt him onely, that is first Cast in; and for my part, I wish it may stay there, and go no further.

Lastly, I assure my self, your Lordships have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own body; and one, that in this very Session, had some taste of your loving affection, which I hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace which now in the Conclusion will more appear. And therefore my humble suit to your Lordships is, that my voluntary Confession be my sentence, and the losse of the Seal my punishment, and that your Lordships will spare any farther sentence, but recommend me to his Majesties grace and pardon for all that is past. And so, &c.

Your Lordships, &c.

*Francis St. Alban Cant.*

Five Letters more of my Lord *Bacon*.

*Bacon to the King, July 31. 1617.*

Lord Keeper  
per *Bacon*  
to his Ma-  
jesty.

I Dare not presume any more to reply upon your Majesty, but re-  
serve my Defence till I attend your Majesty at your happy return,  
when I hope verily to approve my self not onely a true servant  
to your Majesty, but a true friend to my Lord of *Buckingham*, and  
for the times also I hope to give your Majesty a good account,  
though distance of place may obscure them. But there is one part  
of your Majesties Letter, that I could be sorry to take time to an-  
swer; which is that your Majesty conceives, that whereas I wrote,  
That the height of my Lords Fortune might make him secure; I mean  
that he was turned proud, or unknowing of himself. Surely the  
opinion I have ever had of my Lord (whereof your Majesty is best  
witness) is far from that: But my meaning was plain and simple;  
that his Lordship might through his great fortune, be the lesse apt to  
Cast, and foresee, the unfaithfulnesse of friends, and the malignity  
of enemies, and accidents of times. Which is a judgment (your Ma-  
jesty knoweth better then I) that the best Authors make of the best,  
and best tempered spirits, *Ut sunt res humanae*; Insomuch as *Guic-  
ciardine* maketh the same judgment (not of a particular person) but  
of the wisest state of *Europe*, the Senate of *Venice*, when he sayeth  
their prosperity had made them secure, and under-weighers of perils.  
Therefore I beseech your Majesty, to deliver me, in this, from any  
the least imputation to my dear and Noble Lord and friend. And  
so expecting, that that Sun, which when it went from us, left us cold  
weather, and now it is returned towards us, hath brought with it a  
blessed harvest, will when it cometh to us dispel and disperse all mists,  
and mistakings.

I am, &c.

Lord

Lord Chancellour to his Majestie,

2. Jan. 1618.

*It may please your most excellent Majestie,*

**I** Do many times with gladnesse, and for a remedy of my other labours, revolve in my mind the great happinesse which God (of his singular goodnesse) hath accumulated upon your Majesty every way, and how Compleat the same would be, if the state of your meanes were once rectified, and well ordered, your people militarie, and obedient, fit for war, used to peace, your Church illightened with good Preachers, as an heaven of Stars, your Judges learned, and learning from you, just, and just by your example, your Nobility in a right distance between Crown and People, no oppressors of the people, no overshadowers of the Crown, your Councel full of tributes of Care, faith, and freedom, your Gentlemen, and Justices of Peace, willing to apply your Royal Mandates to the nature of their several Counties, but ready to obey, your servants in awe of your wisdom, in hope of your goodnesse; The fields growing every day by the improvement and recovery of grounds, from the desert, to the garden; The City grown from wood to brick, your Sea-walls or *Pomerium* of your Island surveyed, and in edifying; your Merchants imbracing the whole compasse of the World, East, West, North, and South; The times give you Peace, and yet offer you opportunities of action abroad: And lastly, your excellent Royal Issue entayleth these blessings and favours of God, to descend to all posterity. It resteth therefore, that God having done so great things for your Majestie, and you for others; You would do so much for your self as to go through (according to your good beginnings) with the rectifying and settling of your estate and means, which onely is wanting. *Hec rebus defuit unum.* I therefore whom onely love, and duty to your Majestie, and your royal line, hath made a *Financier*, do intend to present unto your Majestie a perfect book of your estate, like a perspective glasse to draw your estate neer to your sight; beseeching your Majestie to conceive, that if I have not attained to do that, that I would do in this which is not proper for me, nor in my element, I shall make your Majestie amends in some other thing in which I am better bred.

*God ever preserve, &c.*

C

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*The Lord Chancellor to the King.*

*The Lord Chancellor to the Marquesse of Buckingham,*  
25. March, 1620.

*My very good Lord,*

**Y**esterday I know was no day; Now I hope I shall hear from your Lordship, who are my anchor in these floods. Mean while to ease my heart, I have written to his Majestie the inclosed, which I pray your Lordship to read advisedly, and to deliver it, or not to deliver it, as you think Good. God ever prosper your Lordship.

*Yours ever What I am*

*Fr. St. Alban. Canc.*

*The Lord Chancellor to the King. March 25. 1620.*

*It may please your most excellent Majestie,*

**T**ime hath been, when I have brought unto your *Gemitum* *Columba* from others, now I bring it from my self. I flie unto your Majestie with the wings of a Dove, which once within these seven daies, I thought would have carried me a higher flight. When I enter into my self, I find not the materials of such a tempest as is come upon me. I have been, as your Majestie knoweth best (never authour of any immoderate Counsel, but alwaies desired to have things carried *suavibus modis*. I have been no avaritious oppressor of the people. I have been no haughty, or intolerable, or hateful man in my conversation, or carriage. I have inherited no hatred from my father, but am a good Patriot born. Whence should this be? for these are the things that use to raise dislikes abroad.

For the house of Commons, I began my Credit there, and now it must be the place of the Sepulture thereof. And yet this Parliament upon the Message touching Religion, the old love revived, and they said I was the same man still, onely honesty was turned into honour.

For the Upper House, even within these daies, before these troubles, they seemed as to take me into their arms, finding in me ingenuity,

*Magdibeg to his Majestie.*

11

nity, which they took to be the true straight line of noblesse without Crooks or angles.

And for the briberies and guifts wherewith I am charged; when the books of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert Justice, howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the Times.

And therefore I am resolved, when I come to my answer, not to trick my innocency (as I writ to the Lords) by Cavillations, or voidances, but to speak to them the language, that my heart speaketh to me, in excusing, extenuating, or ingenuous confessing; praying God to give me the grace to see to the bottom of my faults, and that no hardnesse of heart do steal upon me, under shew of more neatnesse of Conscience, then is Cause.

But not to trouble your Majestie any longer, craving pardon for this long mourning Letter; that which I thirst after, as the Hart after the streams, is, that I may know by my matchlesse friend that presenteth to you this letter, your Majesties heart (which is an *abyssus* of goodnesse, as I am an *abyssus* of mercy) towards me. I have been ever your man, and counted my self but as an usufructuary of my self, the property being yours. And now making my self an oblation to do with me as may best conduce to the honour of your Justice, the honour of your Mercy, and the use of your Service, resting  
as

Clay in your Majesties gracious hands,

*Fr. S<sup>t</sup>. Alban. Canc.*

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*Magdibeg to his Majestie.*

*May it please your most excellent Majestie,*

**I** Make bold after a long silence, to prostrate my self before your Majestie, and being the Ambassadour of a great King, that counteth it an honour to stile himself your friend, I do beseech you to afford me that justice, which I am sure you will not refuse to the meanest of your Subjects.

At my first arrival into this your happy Kingdome, I was informed by the general relation of all that had recourse unto me, that one here (who had the title of Ambassadour from my Master) did

*The Copy of a Letter written by his Majestie, &c.*

vainly brag that he had married the King of Persia's Neece, which kindled in me such a vehement desire to vindicate my Masters honor, from so unworthy and false a report, that at my first interview with him, my hand being guided by my dutie, I endeavoured to fasten upon him a Condigne disgrace to such an imposture. But the caution that I ought to have of my own justification, when I return home, biddeth me the more strictly to examine the truth of that which was told me (whereon my action with Sir Robert Shirley was grounded) and to have it averred in the particulars, as well as by a general voice. Therefore I humbly beseech your Majestie, that out of your Princely goodnesse you will be pleased to give such order, that this point may be fully cleared.\* Wherein for the manner of proceeding, I wholly and humbly remit my self to your Majestie: And this being done, I shall return home with some measure of joy to ballance the grief which I have, for having done ought, that may have clouded your Majesties favour to me. And so committing your Majestie to the protection of the greatest God, whose shadowes, and elect instruments, Kings are on earth, I humbly take my leave, and rest, &c.

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*The Copy of a Letter written by his Majestie to the Lord Keeper, the Bishops of London, Wynton, Rochester, St. Davids, and Excester, Sir Henry Hubbert, Mr. Justice Dodderidge, Sir Henry Martin, and Dr. Steward, or any six of them, Whereof the Lord Keeper, the Bishops of London, Wynton, and St. Davids to be four.*

IT is not unknown unto you, what happened the last Summer to our trusty and welbeloved Councillour, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who shooting at a Deer with a Crossebowe in *Bramzil* Park, did with that shoot, casually give the Keeper a wound, whereof he dyed. Which accident (though it might have happened to any other man) yet because his eminent rank and function in the Church bath (as we are informed) ministred occasion of some doubt, as making the Cause different in his person, in respect of the scandal (as is supposed,) we being desirous (as it is fit we should) to be satisfied therein, and reposing especial trust in your learnings, and judgments, have made choice of you to inform Us concerning the nature of this Cause, and do therefore require you to take presently into your Considerations, the Scandal that may arise thereupon, and to certifie Us what

what in your Judgements the same may amount unto, either to an irregularity, or otherwise. And lastly, what means may be found for the redresse thereof (if need be) of all which points, we shall expect to have your Reports, with what diligence and expedition you may. Dated at *Theobalds*, Octob. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1621.

*The Archbishop of York to King James.*

*May it please your Majestie,*

I Have been too long silent, and am afraid that by silence, I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majestie to place me in. But now I humbly beseech, that I may discharge my Conscience towards God, and my dutie towards your Majestie. And therefore I beseech you Sir, to give me leave freely to deliver my self, and then let it please your Majestie to do with me as you please.

Your Majestie hath propounded a Toleration of Religion, I beseech you to take into your Consideration, what your Act is, and what the Consequence may be. By your act, you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore of *Babylon*. How hateful will it be to God, and grievous to your Subjects (the true professors of the Gospel) that your Majestie who hath often defended, and learnedly written against those wicked heresies, should now shew your self a Patron of those doctrines which your Pen hath told the world, and your Conscience tells your self are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable. Also what you have done in sending the Prince without Consent of your Council, and the privitie and approbation of your People. For although Sir, you have a large interest in the Prince, as the Son of your flesh, yet have your People a greater as the Son of the Kingdom, upon whom (next after your Majestie) are their eyes fixed, and their Welfare defends. And so slenderly is his going apprehended, that believe Sir, how ever his return may be safe, yet the Drawers of him unto that action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdom, will not passe away unquestioned, and unpunished.

Besides, this Toleration you endeavour to set up by your Proclamation, it cannot be done without a Parliament, unless your Majestie will let your Subjects see, that you now take unto your self a libertie to throw down the Lawes of the Land at your pleasure. What dread-  
ful



*The Copy of a Letter sent from Spain,*

ful Consequence these things may draw after, I beseech your Majestie to Consider.

And above all, left by this Toleration, and discountenance of the true profession of the Gospel (wherewith God hath blessed us) and under which this Kingdome hath flourished these many years) your Majestie doth draw upon the Kingdom in general, and your self in particular, Gods heavy wrath and indignation.

Thus in discharge of my dutie to your Majestie, and the place of my Calling, I have taken the humble boldnesse to deliver my Conscience. And now Sir, Do with me what you please.

Next of all, in order, follow the Letters that passed between the King and his Agents, about the *Spanish* Transactions.

The first Letter written, *per anonymum*, brings newes of the Princes arrival.

*The Copy of a Letter sent from Spain, concerning the  
Princes arrival there, &c.*

I Presume his Highnesse being now returned, you may, by Con-  
fidence have such choice, and free relations of his proceedings in  
*Spain*, that I may well hold my Pen, (it being not priviledged with  
that freedom that the tongue is) yet to comply with that constant  
obligation I purpose still to owe you, I will write something, and  
point at some passages, where others perhaps may not so punctually  
inform you.

The Prince's coming hither seemed not so strange, as acceptable,  
and pleasing unto all. The Common sort expressed it by extraordi-  
nary shouts, and acclamations of joy, offering, and marrying the  
*Infanta* (as it were) presently, by publique voice, as having wonne  
and truly deserved her, by so brave an adventure. The King and  
State studied how to do him all the honour that might be: The first  
decree that the Council of State made, was, that at all occasions of  
meetings, he should have the precedencie of the King. That he  
should make entrie into the Palace in the form of State, as the Kings  
of *Spain* do in the first day of their Coronation. That he should  
have one of the chief Quarters of the Kings House for his lodgings,  
one hundred of the Guard to attend him, all the Council to obey  
him, as the Kings own person. All prisoners were released, the new  
Proclamation

Proclamation against excesse in apparel revoked, and sundry other arguments of joy. But a wonder lasteth not but for nine daies.

This universal joy was grounded upon hopes, that the Prince came not onely to fetch a wife, but also to make himself a *Catholique*. The Pope incited him hereunto by Letters, which his Nuntio delivered. He sent a charge to the inquisitor general, to use all possible diligence herein. Many processions, and shewes were made to stirre him. But they soon saw how *improbable* it was to win him, how amongst all his servants there was not one *Catholique* about him: what slight esteem they made of the Churches, and Religion here; some committing irreverent, and scandalous actions in the Kings own Chappel, so that they began to behold the English with an ill aspect, to inveigh against the *Conde de Gondomar*, that he should inform the King and State, that the Prince had a disposition easie to be wrought upon to be made a *Catholique*. Adde hereunto the ill offices that the *Irish* do, who to preserve themselves in the *Spanish* pension did prejudice the businesse, by casting aspersions upon the *English*, the mis-information of the persecution in their Country, and in *England* notwithstanding being here, and the abuse of the Ambassadors servants in *London*.

For which  
God be  
thanked.

When the Prince came there wanted nothing for the final consummation of all things but the dispensation, which came two moneths after. And whereas it was expected to come absolute, and full; it came infringed with Cautions and limitations, *viz.* That the *Infanta* should not be married till matters in *England* were in perfect execution; that in case the King of *England* could not give sufficient security, the King of *Spain* himself should swear, and undertake the oath for him. Hereupon a *Junto* of Divines was appointed to determine hereof, Whether the King might do this with a safe Conscience or no. These Divines went gravely and tediously to work; which put the Prince upon that impatiency, that he was upon point of departure. When at last the businesse came to a resolution, and to the Match was publicly declared. The Prince had then often (though publicly) access to the *Infanta*, the King being still himself present, and in hearing. After this a Ratification was sent for from *Rome*, but the Pope dying in the interim, and the new Pope falling suddenly sick, it could not be speedily procured. For want of this Ratification there was no Contract made, and the Prince himself seemed not to desire it. A little before his departure, the King and the Council of State, with the Patriarch of the *Indies*, the Prince Prelate, after the Bishop of *Toledo*, (who is under age) swore to all the Capitulations, so that the Prince seemed to depart well satisfied.

The

*The Copy of a Letter sent from Spain, &c.*

The King brought him to the *Escorial*, and a little before his departure, the King and he went into a close Coach, and had a large discourse together, (my Lord of *Bristol* being in another Coach hard by to interpret some hard words, when he was called.) And so they parted with many tender demonstrations of love. A Trophy of Marble is erected in the place where they parted. Many rich Presents were given on both sides. The Prince bestowed upon the Queen the biggest Crown Pearl in the world between two Diamonds. He gave the *Infanta* a rope of Pearl, and an anchor of great Diamonds, with many other Jewels. He hath been very bountiful to every one of the Kings house, and all the Guard. Never Prince parted with such an universal love of all. He left every mouth filled with his Commendations; every one reporting him to be a truly Noble, discreet, and well deserving Prince. I write what I hear, and know, and that without passion, for all he is the Prince of my Country.

My Lord of *Buckingham* at first, was much esteemed, but it lasted little; his *French* garb, with his stout hastinesse in negotiating, and over-familiarity with the Prince, was not liked. Moreover, the Council of *Spain* took it ill, that a green head, should come with such a superintendent power to treat of an affair of such Consequence; among so many grave Ministers of State, to the prejudice of so able and well-deserving a Minister as my Lord of *Bristol*, who laid the first stone of this building. Hereupon his power was called in question, and found imperfect in regard it was not confirmed by the Council. Thus the businesse began to gather ill blood between *Olivarez*, and him, and grew so far out of square, that unlesse there had been good heads to peece them together again, all might have fallen quite off the hinges. He did not take his leave of the Countesse of *Olivarez*, and the farewell he took of the *Conde* himself was harsh; for he told him, he would be an everlasting servant to the King of *Spain*, the Queen, and the *Infanta*, and would endeavour to do the best offices he could, for the concluding of this businesse, and strengthening the amity between the two Kingdomes; but for himself, he had so far disoblighd him, that he could make no profession of friendship to him at all. The *Conde* turned about, and said he accepted of what he had spoken, and so parted.

Since his Highnesse departure, my Lord of *Bristol* negotiates closely, he is daily at the Palace to attend the *Infanta*, and he treats by means of the Countesse of *Olivarez*.

There is a new *Junto* appointed for the disposing of the *Infanta's* affairs,

*His Majesties to the Earl of Bristol.*

affairs, and we hope here, that all things will be ripe against the next Spring to bring her over. And so I rest, &c.

From Madrid. 30. Septemb. 1623.

*His Majesties to the Earl of Bristol,*

Jan. 21. 1625.

**W**EE have read your Letter address'd to us by *Buckingham*, and We cannot but wonder that you should through forgetfulness make such a request to us of favour, as if you stood evenly capable of it, when you know what your behaviour in *Spain* deserved of Us, which you are to examine by the observations We made, and know you will remember, how at our first coming into *Spain*, taking upon you to be so wise as to foresee our intentions to change our Religion, you were so far from dissuading us, that you offered your service, and secrecie to concur in it, and in many other open Conferences pressing to shew how convenient it was for us to be a *Roman Catholique*, it being impossible in your opinion, to do any great action otherwise; how much wrong, disadvantage, and disservice you did to the Treaty, and to the right and interest of our dear Brother, and Sister, and their Children; what disadvantage, inconvenience, and hazard you intangled us in by your artifices, putting off, and delaying our return home. The great estimation you made of that State, and the vile price you set this Kingdome at, still maintaining, that we under colour of friendship to *Spain*, did what was in our power against them, which (you said) they knew very well. And last of all, your approving of those Conditions, that our Nephew should be brought up in the Emperours Court, to which Sir *Walter Aston* then said, he durst not give his Consent for fear of his head; you replying to him, that without some such great action, neither marriage nor peace could be had, &c.

D

Lord



*Lord Conway to the Earl of Bristol.*

March 21. 1625.

*My Lord,*

I Received a Letter from your Lordship dated the 4<sup>th</sup> of this month, written in answer to a former, which I directed to your Lordship by his Majesties Commandment. This last Letter (according to my duty) I have shewed unto his Majestie; who hath perused it, and hath commanded me to write back this unto you again. That he finds himself nothing satisfied therewith; the question propounded to your Lordship from his Majestie was plain and clear, Whether you did rather chöose to sit still without being question'd for any errors past in your negotiation in Spain, and enjoy the benefit of the late gracious pardon granted in Parliament, whereof you may have the benefit; or whether for the clearing of your innocency (whereof your self, your friends, and your followers are so confident) you will be contented to waive the advantage of that pardon, and put your self into a legal way of examination for the tryal thereof? His Majesties purpose hereby is not to prevent you of any favours the Law hath given: but if your assurance be such as your words and letter import, he conceiveth it stands not with that publique and resolute profession of your integrity, to decline your tryal. His Majestie leaves the choyce to your self, and requires from you a direct answer, without Circumlocution, Or bargaining with him for future favours before hand.

But if you have a desire to make use of that pardon which cannot be denyed to you, nor is it any way desired to be taken from you; His Majestie expects, that you should at least forbear to magnifie your service, and out of the opinion of your own innocency cast an aspersiön upon his Majesties Justice, in not affording you that present fullness of liberty and favour which cannot be drawn from him, but in his own good time, and according to his own good pleasure. Thus much I have in command to write unto your Lordship, and to require your answer cleerly and plainly by this Messenger sent on purpose for it. And so, &c.

*The*

*The E. of Bristol to the Lord Conway.*

4. March. 1625.

*My Lord,*

I Received your Letter of the 25. of *February*, and therein a Commandment from his Majestie, and in his Majesties name to make a cleer and plain answer, Whether I desire or rest in the security I am now in, and to acknowledge the gracious favour of his late Majestie, and of his which now is, who have been pleased not to question my actions, &c. Hereunto I have laboured exactly to obey, but find that a plain and clear answer cannot possibly be made, untill there be a cleer understanding of the thing propounded; so that I may crave pardon, if my answer be not so cleer as I could wish it: for I must freely acknowledge, that I no way understand what is meant by the security I am now in, whether it be by the present estate I am now in, or not: If it be so, I conceive a man cannot be under a harder Condition; for your Lordship knoweth, that by order my person is restrained, and you were pleased lately to send me word, that you would not advise me to make use of the liberty which his late Majestie had given me of coming to *London*, although that were onely to follow my private affairs, and for the recovery of my decayed health. I stand likewise prohibited to come to the Court, or to the Kings presence, (I passe by my being removed from all my places, and offices, and wholly depending upon his Majesties royal pleasure.) But being a Peer of this Realm, I have not onely by Commandment, been formerly stayed from the Parliament, but of late, my writ hath been detained, as though my honour were forfeited. And this is truly the Condition I am now in, but I cannot imagine that this is the security intended I should rest in; but am in hope, that the security intended is, that I may for the future enjoy the liberty of a free Subject, and the priviledges of a Peer of the Kingdom. Which being so, I shall with all humility acknowledge his Majesties grace and favour, and be ready to serve him with all fidelity even to the laying down of my life, not thinking it to stand with the duty of a Subject to presse his being questioned, since such being the pleasure of his Sovereign, it were not in the power of any Subject to avoid it. But in case his Majestie shall be pleased to bring me to any legal tryal, I shall most willingly and dutifully submit my self thereunto, and doubt not but my innocency in the end will be my best Mediatour for his Majesties future favour. And in that Case I am a suitor that my Writ of Parliament as a Peer of this Realm may be sent unto me, and that my present re-

*The E. of Bristol to the Lo. Bishop of Lincoln.*

pair to *London* may not displease his Majestie; As for the pardon of the 21. *Reg. Jacobi*, which you mention, I should renounce, but that I know that the justest and most cautious man living, may through ignorance or omission offend the Lawes, so that as a Subject I shall not disclaim any benefit which cometh in the general as it doth usually to all other Subjects in the Kingdom: But as for any Crime in particular, that may trench upon my employments in point of Loyalty, fidelity, or want of affection to the King or State, I know my innocency to be such, that I am confident I shall not need that pardon. I shall conclude with a most humble suit unto your Lordship, that out of your noblenesse, and that friendship that hath been betwixt us, you will use your best endeavours both with his Majestie and the Duke, that this unfortunate businesse may be past over, by the renewing whereof I can see little use that can be made but the adding to a mans misfortunes already sufficiently humbled; For I am ready to do all that a man of honour and honestie may do; but rather then to do any thing that may be prejudicial to me in that kind, to suffer whatsoever it shall please God to send. And so with the remembrance of my humble service unto your Lordship, I recommend you unto Gods holy protection, And rest

*Sherborn Lodge,*  
*&c.*

*Your Lordships humble servant,*

*Bristol.*

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Here next follow the Letters of my Lord of *Bristol* concerning the businesse of the Match.

*The E. of Bristol to the Lo. Bishop of Lincoln,*

*Aug. 20. 1623.*

*My very worthy Lord,*

I Give you many thanks for your Letter of the 23<sup>d</sup>. of *July*, by which I understand your great care of me, by seconding a former motion it pleased your Lordship to make, of having me reconciled to my Lord Dukes favour, (A thing which I have infinitely desired) and have esteemed the good offices you have been pleased to do therein, as a very high obligation your Lordship puts upon me. But I conceive your Lordship will find that any motion you have made in that kind

kind unto his Grace hath been despised, rather then received with any thankfulness, or that he hath returned you any answer of his inclination thereunto. For the truth is, my Lord doth look down upon my poor Condition with that scorn and contempt, that I conjecture the very moving of any such thing, especially under the term of reconciliation, hath not been pleasing unto his Lordship. But thereof your Lordship can make the best judgment by the answer you received from him. I do but guesse thereat, by what I have heard he hath been pleased to say, and the manner wherewith he hath used me: Which hath been such, that the *Spaniards* themselves (which most afflicted me) have out of compassion pitied me. Yet I may with much truth assure your Lordship, that I have not omitted towards him either any respect or service that was fit for me to perform, either towards his person, or the high place he holdeth in my Masters favour, or unto his present employment; well knowing how undecent and scandalous a thing it is for the Ministers of a Prince to run different wayes in a strange Court, but have attended him in all his publique audience, and used in all kinds that respect and observance towards him, that I think malice her self cannot charge me with an omission. And my Lord, this is the truth, whatsoever may be said or written to the contrary: It is true, that some four moneths since in a businesse that no lesse concerned his Majestie and the Prince's service, then abruptly to have broken off all our Treaty, I was far differing from my Lords opinion. And thereupon happened betwixt us some dispute in debate of the businesse, but without any thing that was personal, and there was no creature living at it but the Prince, to whose Censure I shall willingly refer my self. In me I protest it unto your Lordship, it made no alteration, but within half an hour I came to him with the same reverence and respect that I was wont to do, the which I have continued ever since, so that I have much wondered how it cometh to be so much spoken of in *England*, that my Lord Duke and my self should live here at too much distance. And I cannot find any other reason for it, but that every body hath taken so much notice of my ill, and contemptible usage, that they think it impossible for any Gentleman, but to be sensible of it. But if any one disrespect, or omission from me towards my Lord Duke can be truly instanced in by any man, I will be contented to incur his Majesties high displeasure, and your Lordships Censure.

For the present Newes here, it is, that the ninth of this Moneth, the Prince intendeth (God willing) to begin his journey for *England*. And the day before, I conceive the Contract will be. *The Infants is*



*The E. of Bristol to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.*

to follow in the Spring, and the Prince hath commanded my stay here. I know not how things may be reconciled here before my Lord Dukes departure, but at present, they are in all extremity ill, betwixt this King, and his Ministers, and the Duke, and they stick not to professe, that they will rather put the *Infanta* headlong into a Well, then into his hands. I write unto your Lordship you see with much freeness, and I intreat you let it remain with you. And so in much haste I onely intreat your Lordship to believe, that you have not living an honest, nor a true hearted friend, and servant, then

Your Lordships ever to be commanded,

*Bristol.*

*The E of Bristol to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln,*

24. of Septemb. 1623.

*My singular Lord,*

I Have dispatched this Bearer my servant *Greislie* with the draught of the temporal Articles, which I hope will be to the King and Prince his satisfaction, and he will let your Lordship have a sight of them.

Since the departure of the Prince, there have every day passed Letters of extraordinary affection between the King, and the Prince; and the love that is here generally born unto the Prince is such, as cannot be well believed by those that daily hear not, what passeth both from the King and his chief Ministers. And to say the truth, his Highnesse hath well deserved it; for in the whole time of his being here, he hath carried himself with the greatest affability, patience, and constancie, and at his departure with the greatest bountie, and liberality, that I think hath been known in any Prince in our times. And I protest unto your Lordship as a Christian, that I never heard in all the time of his being here, nor since any one exception taken against him, unlesse it were for being supposed to be too much guided by my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, who is indeed very little beholding to the *Spaniards* for their good opinion of him, and departed from hence with so little satisfaction, that the *Spaniards* are in doubt, that he will endeavour all that shall be possible to crosse the Marriage: Wherein certainly they are very much mistaken; For my

Lord

Lord cannot but be obliged a servant for any particular distastes of his own to crosse the advancement of his Majestie, and the Prince's service, especially in a businesse of so high Consequence as this.

It may be your Lordship will hear many Complaints, and that the Match never was, nor yet is intended; I beseech your Lordship to give little belief in that kind, and the effects will now speedily declare the truth, if the fault be not on our side. It is true that the *Spaniards* have committed many errors in their proceedings with the Prince; but the businesse is now by the Prince overcome, if we our selves draw not back: For which I confesse I should be heartily sorry, and so I conceive would most honest men; for if this match, and the alliance with *Spain* hath been so long desired by his Majestie, and that for it he hath been pleased to do so much, and the Prince to take so hazardous a voyage, if all the same reasons are yet on foot, which have ever moved the King and Prince to with the match; if to this may be added, that his Majestie hath overcome all the difficulties on his part, and that both he, and the Prince do stand engaged for the performance of it, as far as Princes can be, God forbid, that any particular distastes, or misunderstandings (which God knoweth have little relation to the businesse) should be of power to disturb it, especially now, when the Match is past all danger of miscarrying, the portion, and all temporal Articles settled, and I hope to the Kings Content, and all other good effects that could be expected by this alliance in a very fair way, I hope there will be no cause of doubt in this kind; if there should be, I am sure that your Lordship would put to a helping hand to keep the businesse from being overthrown, since you have done so much for the overcoming of former difficulties, and the bringing it to the passe tis now in. If there be no cause of writing this, I beseech your Lordship to impute it to my zeal to the businesse, and my freeness with your Lordship, upon whose true love and friendship I so much rely, as I shall not forbear to tell you, any of my fears. I hope within 3. daies Sir *Francis Cottisgreave* will be able to begin his journey towards your Lordship. He will tell you many truths, being on my knowledge, as hearty a servant and friend as tis possible for your Lordship to have. He hath told me how much I am bound to your Lordship for your love, and favour, and truly I will deserve it the best I can, and that I think will be onely by loving you, for otherwise I conceive I am like to have little means of meriting at any bodies hands, yet to your Lordships it may be I may, by being a man of honesty, and honour; And such an one I will be  
your

*The E. of Bristols Letter to the Prince,*

bour to be, and your affectionate friend and servant. And so I kisse your Lordships hands.

*Madrid, &c.*

*The E. of Bristols Letter to the Prince, touching the delivery  
of his Proxie to the King of Spain.*

*May it please your Highnesse,*

**I**N this Letter I shall onely speak unto your Highnesse concerning that particular whereof you were pleased to write unto me after your departure from St. *Lorenzo*, and have presumed to set down exactly the case as it stands. In what sort a woman betrothed, and *post Matrimonium ratum*, may before the Consummation of marriage betake her self unto a religious life; I have likewise set down unto your Highnesse all sorts of security, that may be taken before the betrothing for the preventing of any such course in the parties, that are to be betrothed. To this your Highnesse may adde any other you can think of, for that the King, and his Sister, and all the Ministers professe so really the punctual and present performance of all that is capitulated with your Highnesse; That they will refuse no kind of security, that in reason can be demanded in this behalf: so that your Highnesse may set down, whatsoever you think this King and his Sister may do with decencie, and honour, and they will be ready to perform it.

I must now crave leave to speak unto your Highnesse like a faithful plain servant, which is, if your Highnesse pleasure be to have use made of the Powers you have left in my hands; I no way doubt, but in this particular such satisfaction will be given, as will appear reasonable to all the world. But if your Highnesse desire, that these Powers should not be used, they may be detained upon other just reasons which will arise in the treatie of the temporal articles. And I doubt not but the *Deposorio's* may be deferred for some few daies upon other fair pretexes. But these inconveniencies I conceive will follow. First it will be of great discomfort to the *Infanta*, who until the *Deposorio's* are past, is not her own woman, but must be governed by the pleasure of the *Junto*, which I think she is very wearie of, neither till then may she declare her self to be yours, nor Comply with  
your

your Highesse in answering of your Letters, and Messages, and giving you those respects, and Comforts, which I know she would be glad to do. But if she should any way judge, that the delay of the *Deposarios* should arise from your Highnes part, I conceive she would take it most heavily. Secondly, it will certainly raise great jealousies in this King, and his Ministers, and retard the resolutions, that are fit to be taken with speed for the putting in execution that which is capitulated. I therefore offer it unto your Highnes wisdom, whether upon the satisfaction, which they will give in this particular, which will be whatsoever you can desire; and upon the agreement of the temporal articles your Highnesse would upon the coming of the Popes approbation make any farther scruple in the delivering of your Highnesse powers; If I shall, I am confident they will not presse it, as not decent for the womans part to urge the hastening of the Marriage. But I conceive it will cast such a cloud of Jealousie and distrust upon the businesse, that besides the discontent and affliction, which I know it will give the Infanta (which most worketh upon me,) it will so disorder the businesse, that it will make a stand in your whole proceedings, and preparations, wherein they now go on chearfully, and confidently, and I conceive will punctually perform all that they have capitulated with your Highnesse. I dare not so much as give my self leave once to question your Highnesse intentions of proceeding to the real effecting of the match, which makes me desirous that all things may be executed, that may any way retard or disturb it. Only I shall like a faithful poor servant presume to say thus much to your Highnesse; That for divers years past, I know the King your father, and your self, have held this the fittest Match in the World, and by a desire of effecting it, your Highnesse was induced to undertake that hazardous journey of coming to this Court in person. In the time of your being here, (admitting that their proceedings have been in many things unworthy of you.) And that divers distastes have grown by intervenient accidents; Now things are reduced to those terms, that the Match it self is sure, the portion, and the temporal Articles settled (I hope to the Kings liking and yours) And all other good effects that could be hoped for by this alliance, are in a fair way. If to these reasons may be added, That on his Majestie and your Highnesse part, you have already passed by, and overcome the main difficulties; and your Highnesse by your journey hath satisfied your self of the person of the *Infanta*, God forbid, that either any personal distastes of Ministers, or any indiscreet, or passionate carriage of businesses should hazard that, which his Majestie and your



*The E. of Bristol to the Prince his Highnesse.*

Highnesse have done so much to obtain, and whereby doubtlesse so much good, and peace is to accrew to Christendom by the effecting of it; and contrariwise so much trouble and mischief by the miscarrying of it. Besides the individual happinesse of your Highnesse in such a Wife, which the World supposeth you infinitely esteem for her person. And for her Birth and Portion is no where to be matched; And questionlesse for her vertue, and settled affection to your Highnesse deserveth you better then any woman in the World. I humbly crave pardon for writing unto your Highnesse in this manner, which I hope your Highnesse well enough knowes, neither the benefits I have received from *Spain*, nor their grateful usage of me upon occasions (nor I protest unto your Highnesse any other earthly respect) moveth me unto it, but the zeal, and love I bear to your service, for which I shall ever undervalue any thing, that may concern my self. And therefore I shall conclude by intreating your Highnesse, that if you would have things go well, that a Post may instantly be dispatched back unto me, authorizing me to deliver the said power upon the arrival of the dispensation, and having taken fitting securitie in this particular point. And this I earnestly beseech your Highnesse may be done with all possible speed and secrecie; and that the *Spanish* Ambassadors may not know that ever there was any suspension made of the delivery of the powers. In the interim I will find means if the dispensation come for 20, or 24 daies to alledge some other fair pretexts for the deferring of the *Deposorios*; But herein I desire I may know your Highnesse resolution with all possible speed, &c. And so with, &c.

*Bristol.**Madrid.**The E. of Bristol to the Prince his Highnesse,*

Septemb. 24. 1623.

**V**Hen your Highnesse shall remember, that your Highnesse being here in person, it was not possible in lesse then a moneth, to get that dispatcht which you were promised Mr. Secretary *Cottington* should have carried with him, if your Highnesse would have but stayed him 24 hours; I hope you will pardon your servants although they sometimes mistake in the time, which they limit for the procuring of the dispatch of businesse, especially if they depend upon

*The E. of Bristol to the Prince his Highnesse.*

upon the dispatches, that are to be procured from them. I have these 10. daies had *Grisy* in a readinesse to depart, having every day expected a resolution from the *Junto*. First in point of the portion, and since in the daies of payment, and at last I have received their answer in them both, in such sort as your Highnesse will see in the paper inclosed, which is an extract of the heads of the temporal Articles that we have agreed, although I have onely consented unto them *de bene esse*, until I shall receive his Majesties approbation and yours: In the point of the portion, I have had a tough and a knotty piece of work, by reason that not onely the *Conde de Olivarez*, but all the *Junto* were absolutely ignorant of what had passed in the late Kings time, which I foresaw, and that was the cause that I moved so earnestly at the *Escorial*, to have the *Conde de Gondomar* remain here. They made many presidents to be searched, and found that the *two millions* demanded was four times as much as ever was given with any daughter of *Spain* in money. They alledged that it would be said, that the King of *Spain* was faine to purchase the friendship and alliance of *England*; that this would be such a president, as that *Spain* hereafter must marrie no more daughters. I onely insisted that it was a thing, by the last King settled, and agreed with me, that this King had by several answers in writing to me undertaken to pursue the businesse as it was left by his father, and to make good whatsoever he had promised. And thereupon desired that the original Papers, and *Consultos* of the last King might be seen, which very honestly by the Secretary *Cirica* were produced, and appeared to be such, that I dare say, there was not a man that saw them, that doubteth of the last Kings real intention of making the Match. And questionlesse this had been the usefulest occasion to have disavowed former proceedings, and I was resolved to put them to it. But both the King and his Councel upon the sight of what had been promised by his father, presently took resolution to make good the two millions, onely to remonstrate unto his Majestie the vastnesse of the Portion, and to desire him to consider how far the King had stretched himself in this particular for his satisfaction. And therefore, that he would have Consideration of it in such things for the future, as might be treated of betwixt them, and their Kingdoms. As for the daies of payment, I insisted to have had half a million upon the *Deposaries*, half a million to be carried along with the *Infanta*, and the other million at their Fleets the two next years after by equal portions. But I have now received the Kings answer in this particular, which your Highnesse will see in the enclosed paper; as likewise what I have done therein

*The Earl of Bristol to the Duke of Buckingham.*

therein by the Copie of the dispatch, which I now write about it to Mr. Secretary. So not having any thing more to add concerning this particular, I recommend your highnesse to Gods holy protection, &c.

*Madrid.*

*The E of Bristol to the Duke of Buckingham,*  
Decemb. 6. 1623.

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**He present estate of the Kings affairs requireth the concurrence of all his servants, and the Co-operation of all his Ministers, which maketh me desirous to make unto your Grace this tender of my service, that if there have happened any errours, or misunderstandings your Grace would for that regard passe them over: and for any thing that may personally concern my particular, I shall labour to give you that satisfaction as may deserve your friendship. And if that shall not serve the turn, I shall not be found unarmed with patience against any thing that can happen unto me. And so wishing, that this humble offer of my service may find that acceptance as I humbly desire, I rest

*Madrid.*

Your Graces most humble  
servant,

*Bristol.*

*The E. of Bristol to Secretary Cottington,*  
Apr. 15. 1623.

*Good Mr. Secretary Cottington,*

**T**Here is no man living knoweth better then your self, how zealous I have been unto the Prince's service, and whilst I thought he desired the Match, I was for it against all the World. Now the Treatie is ended, the world shall see I never had, nor will have any affections of my own, but will wholly follow my Masters, as I have written unto

unto you in my former Letters, and have not these four moneths spoken a word in the marriage. If his Majestie and the Prince will have a war, I will spend my life and fortunes in it, without so much as replying in what quarrel soever it be. And of thus much I intreat you let his Highnesse be informed by you. And I intreat you let me know his directions, what he will have me do, and how to behave my self, for I absolutely cast my self at his feet, which I desire to do the first thing after my landing, to the end that understanding his pleasure, I may commit no errour. I beseech you to dispatch this bearer back unto me withal possible speed, though it be with not one word more, but what the Prince will have me do, wherewith I shall come *muy Consolado*. I understand that I have been much bound to the Prince for the procuring the 4000 l. to be payed, and for my Pension.

I pray present unto him my most humble thanks: and I confesse I have been much more comforted with that demonstration of his favour, then I can be with the money. I doubt not but at this time I shall have the effects of a real friendship from you in this particular. And so desiring to have my service remembred to my Lady Cottington, I rest

*Poitiers.*

Yours, &c.

*Bristol.*

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*Postscript.*

I Pray move the Prince, that one of the Kings Ships may be presently appointed to waite me over; For I have a great charge of of the Princes with me.

*W. Greisly* met me within 10. posts of *Burdeaux*, and is passed on to *Madrid*, I think he shall find the *Blandones* for his Highnesse in a readinesse, for *Mr. Stone* taketh care of them, and hath the money in his hand.

*The*



*The E. of Bristol to his Majestie 27 July, 1624.*

*May it please your most excellent Majestie,*

I Hope your Majestie will not be displeased that I continue unto you that most humble and just suit, which I have often made unto your Majestie, and your Majestie hath been often gratically pleased to promise, which was that I should be no waies lessened, or diminished in your Majesties favour, and good opinion, until you should be first pleased gratically to hear me, and my Cause. And although your Majestie for just respects, hath not been pleased hitherto to admit me into your presence, which I esteem an infinite misfortune to me: Yet I hope that time will no way confirm those impressions of displeasure, which I do no way doubt, but will be fully cleared, whensoever I shall be so happy as by your Majestie to be heard. For I take God to record, that I have faithfully and honestly served you, and exactly pursued your ends to the best of my understanding, and abilities. And I do no way doubt but your Majestie will in the end protect so faithful a servant as I have been, and shall appear to be to your Majestie. And in the interim my most humble suit unto your Majestie is, that since I am neither admitted my self, nor any man else will speak any word in my defence, or justification, your Majestie according to your Justice, will let nothing that may be said of me redound to my prejudice in your gracious opinion: For it shall be found, that I will in all things wholly conform my self unto your Majesties will and pleasure. So wishing unto your Majestie a happy journey, and a safe return with the increase of all hapinesse. I humbly, &c.

Your Majesties, &c.

*London.*

*Bristol.*

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Here next of all follow divers Dispatches and Letters from  
Sir Walter Aston to the Duke.

*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Have received so much comfort by the care which I see in your grace to take all occasions to honour, and favour me, that I should be

be glad (if it were possible) in my affection to your person, and in my desire to serve you, that your grace might see something in me above what you could find in any other servant. What an honest thankfulnesse can be, I am, and what an honest servant can yield you, shall be ever vigilant in me to serve you. Since the departure of the last post (by whom I wrote lately unto your Grace) my Lord of *Bristol* hath had audience with this King (taking me along with him) to whom his Lordship represented the King our Masters desire concerning the Palatinate in conformity to what his Majesty hath commanded by his late letters, we are now soliciting to hasten this kings answer, which we hope we shall shortly send unto his Majesty, and there is no diligence omitted by my Lord of *Bristol*, nor my self (that we can think on) to negotiate such an answer, as may be to his Majesties good liking. The Dispatches from *Rome* are not yet come, but by letters which they have lately received from the Duke of *Pastrana*; it is advertized, that all things are concluded, and that he would send them away within a few dayes. By my Lord of *Bristols* Letter to his Majesty, your grace will understand the resolution, which his Lordship hath taken concerning his proceedings upon the arival of of the dispatches from *Rome*: his Lordships hath communicated with me his Majesties Letter, and desired my opinion concerning the resolution, which he had taken, wherein I have concurred with his Lordship, not understanding it any way to be differing in substance from his Majesties directions; the altering of the day mentioned in his Majesties letters being onely the changing it from a time when the powers are of no force, to a time when they may be of use: the putting of any thing in execution in the one time, or in the other, depending upon his Majesties, and his Highnesses further directions. I have hitherto understood, that his Majesty and his highnesse have really affected this match, and have laboured faithfully to second their desires with my utmost endeavours. There is none I am sure a better witness then my self of the affection which your Grace hath born unto it, which I have seen remain constant through many tryals. And therefore until I understand the contrary from your self, I must believe that your desires are the same, which I have seen them. I must ever speak my heart freely unto your Grace, and confess that upon the letter which I received from his Highnesse, and upon the sight of his Majesties to my Lord of *Bristol*, I have been jealous of his Majesties heart and his Highnesse, that they are not that to the match which they have been; but these are but distrusts of my own and not foundation sufficient to slacken or cool those diligences which I daily per-

form

*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke.*

form in conformity to his Majesties, and his Highnesse Commands, and to what remains apparent of their desires. I shall therefore humbly desire your Lordship to open mine eyes, and if I am out of the way to set me straight, for I have no affections of mine own, but what agrees with my Masters, and will ever submit with all humility myself, and my judgment unto his Majesties wisdom, and faithfully labour to serve him accordingly to what I shall understand to be his will and pleasure. But untill I know by your Graces favour by what Compass to guide my Course, I can onely follow his Majesties revealed will; and will once take the boldnesse to represent unto your Grace in discharge of what I owe you these Considerations, which my desire to serve you, forceth from me. I do look upon your Grace as a person infinitely provoked to be an enemy to this match, and believe, that you have had represented unto you many reasons, shewing how much it concerns you to seek to break it, with all the force you have: But I can neither believe, that the error of one man can make you an enemy to that, which brings along with it so much happiness and content unto his Majestie, and his Highnesse: nor that your Graces judgment can be led by those arguments, that under the colour of safety, would bring you into a dangerous labyrinth. Your Grace hath given noble testimonie, how little you have valued your own safety in respect of his Majesties service, and therefore I assure my self you would contemn all Considerations concerning your self, that might hinder the advancement of his Majesties ends. In the proceeding to this Match, there is the same convenience to his Majestie, that ever hath been, there is the same Lady, the same portion, the same friendship desired, they professing here an exact complying with what is capitulated, and a resolution to give his Majestie satisfaction in whatsoever is in their power. From your Grace none can take away the honour of having been the principal means by which this great businesse hath been brought to a Conclusion. And whatsoever others may suggest against your Grace, the *Infanta* truly informed, cannot but understand you the person to whom she owes most in this businesse. Your Grace, and the *Conde Olivarez*, have fallen upon different waies, that which concerns the honour of the King our Master, being different to that, which he understood concerned most his Master, your ends were both one for the effecting of the Match, and with the Conclusion of it, he cannot but better understand you. Would your Grace would commit it to my charge to inform the *Infanta* what you have merited, and to accommodate all other mistakes here concerning the proceeding. If  
your

your Grace would reconcile your heart, I would not doubt, but with the Conclusion of the Match to compose all things to your good satisfaction, and to bring them to a truer understanding of you, and of their obligation unto you. In what a Sea of Confusions the breaking of this alliance would ingage his Majestie, I will leave to your Lordships wisdom to consider of, it being too large a discourse for a Letter.

I will therefore onely desire your Lordship to consider, that even the most prosperous War hath misfortune enough in it to make the Authour of it unhappie: of which how innocent soever your Lordship is, the occasions that have been given you, will ever make you liable to the aspersion of it. This I write not unto your Grace as thinking to divert you from what you are falling into; for I am confident your heart runs a more peaceable way: but I am willing, that you should see, that howsoever others should be inclined to carrie you into this tempest, it concerns you, in your care of their happiness, and your own, to divert them from it. I humbly desire your Grace to pardon this error of mine (if it be one) which I can excuse with the affection, and infinite desire, which I have to see you ever happie and flourish.

Concerning my self, your Grace knowes my wants, and I doubt not but your Care is what I could wish. I should be glad when you have done with *Peter Wyck* to see him dispatched away with some supplies unto me, which I shall be in extream want of by *Christmasse*, my debts besides in *England* being clamorous upon me for some satisfaction. I leave all to your Graces care and favour, Ever resting

*Your Graces humblest and most bound  
servant,*

Wa: Aston.

*Postscript.*

**T**He *Condesa of Olivarez* bids me tell you, that she kisses your Graces hands, and doth every day recommend you particularly by name in her prayers to God.



*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke, 15. Novemb. 1623.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**M**Y Lord of *Bristol* intended to have dispatched away a Post unto his Majestie this night with the advice of the arrival of the dispensation, which came to this Town the 12<sup>th</sup>. of this moneth, hoping that he should have been likewise able to have given to his Majestie, and his Highnesse a clear account of all things concerning it. But the deliverie of the Queen this morning (who is brought to bed of a daughter) hath stopped all negotiation, and I believe it will be these two daies before he can be ready to send him away. There is no noveltie (as I yet understand) that is come with the dispensation; there will be something desired for better explanation of his Majesties, and his Highnesse intentions, and some omissions there are which as they understand was his Highnesse intencion should have been in the Capitulation, they being promised by his Highnesse. But I do not find that these will be any stop to the businesse. For they do presse my Lord of *Bristol* very much to proceed presently to the *Deposorios*. Your Grace shall understand all things more particularly by the next Post. I do now make the more haste, forbearing to trouble you with other occurrences, lest my Letters come short of the departure of the Post, as they did of his who was last dispatched from hence.

I do most humbly desire your Grace to continue the doing me those offices that may continue me in his Majesties and his Highnesse good opinion, and I doubt not but I shall be ever able to let your Grace see that you have not a more faithful servant, then he which your Grace hath most bound to be so, and that shall ever remain

*Tours, &c.*

W. A.

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*The Lord Duke of Buckingham to Sir Walter Aston.*

**I**N your Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup>. of December, you desire me to give you my opinion, my ancient acquaintance, long custome of loving you, with constancie of friendship invites me to do you this office of good will, and to serve you according to your request. And for your more

more intire satisfaction, I will deliver the things in the past and present. You in all the beginning of the treaty won to your self a good estimation, while you were onely at large in the treaty, and had communication of the passages from the Lord of *Bristol*, as by courtesy: and in his absence handled no farther in the treaty of marriage then by direction from him. When the *Prince* was there, your carriage gave his Highnesse and my self all satisfaction. Now you must give me leave to put you in mind of the freedom used with you whilest we were at *Madrid*, and of the explanation, the *Prince* made of himself to you by his Letters from *St. Anderas*. From which you might observe, the resentment the *Prince* had of their proceedings with him. And by his Highnesse declaration to you from thence, you might see both his care and resolution not to ingage himself into the marriage without good conditions for the Pallatinate, and Conservation of his honour every way. My care and my intentions were to move increase of honour to you, and to recompence by a good understanding to be layed in his Majestie towards you, which I pursued so soon, as I came to the Kings presence. And the *Princes* confidence was so great in you, as he joynd you in the Commission, besides he declared himself to you by his Letters, not leaving you thereby to guesse at his Majesties directions to the E. of *Bristol*, which he was to communicate to you. Now you may think how strange it was to the *Prince*, and how much I was troubled (not being able to make your excuse) when your joynt Letters made known, how you had concurred with the Earle of *Bristol*, to ingage his Highnesse by prefixing a day for the *Deposories*, without making certain the restitution of the *Palatinate* and Electoral dignity, the portion and temporal articles. Which proceeding of yours with the Earl of *Bristol* was so understood by the Lords of the Committee, as they took resolution once, to advise his Majestie to revoke both the Lord of *Bristol*, and you, upon those grounds, which you will understand by his Majesties own Letters, and Secretarie *Conwayes* Letters written to you with this dispatch. I was not able at first by any endeavour to oppose the resolution of your revocation, so far had you cast your self into misconstruction, and given stop to the progresse of your own advancement. But with constant industry and time, I have won this point, of qualifying all ill opinion of you, and sufferance of your continuing there. So as it will be now in your power (by your Carriage) to come off without reproof. And I shall hope to overcome the rest with time, to bring you again to the condition of honour and recompence. Being confident that since you see your own error, and acknowledge it,

you

*The D. of Buckingham to Sir Walter Aston.*

you will be careful by a stiff and judicious carriage to warrant all your present and succeeding actions. If you think at first sight I presse you a little hard upon this point, you may be pleased to interpret it to be a faithful way of satisfying your request, and expression of my affection to have you to do all things suitable to your wisdom, virtue and honour, and according to the wishes of

Yours, &c.

G. Buckingham.

*The Duke of Buckingham to Sir Wa. Aston.*

I Had not leifure in my former dispatch, being hastie to write the reason why I wondered at the errour you committed in the last dispatch of my Lord of *Bristol* and yours; for the matter is, that his Majestie having plainly written unto you both in his former dispatch, that he desired to be assured of the restitution of the Palatinate, before the *Depositorium* was made, seeing he would be forrie to welcome home one Daughter with a smiling cheer, and leave his ownely Daughter at the same time weeping and disconsolate. And the *Prince* having also written unto you, that he never meant to match there, and be frustrated of the restitution of the Palatinate so often promised, that notwithstanding this clear Language, you should have joyned with my Lord of *Bristol* in a resolution of so hastie a delivery of the *Prince's Proxie*, before you had received his Majesties answer to your former dispatch, wherein my Lord of *Bristol* urged of his Majestie a harsh answer and direction, and his Majestie cannot but take it for a kind of Scorn, that within 4. dayes after ye had urged his Majesties answer, ye should in the mean time take resolutions of your own heads. You may do well, because there is no leifure in this hastie dispatch for his Majestie to answer my Lord of *Bristol's* last Letter (which will be done by the next duplicate of this same dispatch) to acquaint him in the mean time with this Letter, which his Majestie himself hath dictated unto me. And so in haste I bid you farewell.

Yours, &c.

G. B.

Sir

Sir Walter Aston to the Duke of Buckingham,

Decemb. 22. 1623.

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*May it please your Grace,*

I Have comitted to the trust and seeresie of this bearer Mr. *Clark* (whom I find your Graces faithfull servant) certain advertisements to be delivered by him unto you; which as one that shall (God willing) in all things shew himself your passionate servant, I could no way conceale from you. And howsoever your Grace may have many advertisements from hence (the relations that come from England giving occasion to many discourses censuring the Prince, and your Grace) yet I hope to be so vigilant, that there shall hardly be any resolution taken by these Ministers which may have any reflexion on your Person, that I shall not one way or other get notice of, and advertize unto you.

I have in all things with so much affection desired to serve your Grace every way to your satisfaction, that it hath infinitely afflicted me, that I should have done any thing, whereby I might lessen your favourable opinions towards me, but I hope your Grace hath by this time set me straight both with his Majestie, and his Highnesse, and restored me to the same place in your affection, which I have formerly had. Which I am the rather confident of, since I cannot accuse any action, or thought of mine, that hath not born towards your Grace all possible respect and love. I found by experience here, that the favour which by your Graces meanes I received from his Highnesse, and that which you were pleased likewise to honour me withal, had raised me many enemies; And I have reason to feare upon this occasion, there may be some, that well be busie to do me ill offices with you; but I trust so much upon my own sinceritie, that as I never made any second weanes unto your Grace, but have ever singly depended upon the constancie of your goodnesse to me, finding my self the same that I have ever been, I make no meanes to resist such injuries as others may offer to do me, but continue depending wholly upon that goodnesse, and justnesse, which I know in your Grace, and which I assure my self will never fail me. I have not been so carelesse a Servant of your Graces, as not to have debated over, and over with my self, how far the proceedings or breaking of the present treaty here might concern your Grace, which I have discoursed largely to Mr. *Clark*, thinking them of too large a body to be contained in a Letter, but I shall in all things submit my self to your better wisdom; And when you shall please to impart unto me,



*The Copy of a Memorial given to the King of Spain.*

me, wherein his Majestie, and his Highnesse shall be best served, your Grace shall find in all my actions, that my affections with all obedience shal run the same way, and that my proceedings, shall have those respects in them towards your Grace, as you may expect from your faithful Servant. And so, &c.

Your G. &c.

*W. A.*

*The Copy of a Memorial given to the King of Spain,  
19. Jan. 1623. Stil. Vet. Translated.*

S I R,

**S**IR *Walter Aston* Embassadour of the King of great Britain saith, That the King his Master hath commanded him to represent unto your Majestie, that having received so many promises from hence to procure the intire restitution of the *Palatinate*, and Electoral dignitie to the Prince his Son in Law, He commanded his Embassadour to presse your Majestie with all diligence, that the said promises might take effect; not as a condition of the marriage, but desiring infinitely to see settled together with the marriage, the peace and quiet of his Son in Law, his Daughter, and Grandchildren; and having understood that this his desire hath received an interpretation far differing from his intention, hath commanded him anew for the greater demonstration of the desire which he hath to preserve the good Correspondence with your Majestie, to declare unto you, that he hath not propounded the said restitutions as a condition of the marriage, but according to that which he understood was most Conformable with the intention of your Majestie, declared by the *Conde de Olivarez* for the surest, and most effectual means to make the amitie, which is betwixt your Majesties firm and indissoluble, and that there might not remain any doubt or matter hereafter, that should cause dispute, he hath required that every thing might be settled under your Majesties hand, desiring it likewise for the greater comfort of his onely Daughter, and for to make the coming of that most excellent Princessse of more esteem unto his Subjects, bringing with her (besides the glory of her own vertue, and worth) the securitie of a perpetual peace, and amitie, and an everlasting pawn to his Kingdomes of the constancie, and real performance of your Majesties promises, with

with such satisfaction to his hopes grounded the said promises, not as a Condition, but as the fruit and blessing of the alliance. Moreover he saith, That the King his Master hath commanded him to make this Declaration unto your Majestie, that you may know the truth and the sound intentions of his proceedings, with the good end to which it aimes, having renewed the powers, and deferred the delivery of them onely to give time for the accomplishing, and settling that which hath been promised for the satisfying his expectations, and assuring the amitie betwixt your Majesties Persons, and Crowns; the King his Master hoping that your Majestie will likewise lay hold of this occasion, which you now have in your hand to give him full satisfaction in that, which with so much reason he desires, and therewithal a reciprocal, and everlasting blessing to both your Majesties Crownes.

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*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke, 22. of Jan, 1623.*  
Stil. Ver.

*May it please your Grace,*

**H**OWsoever upon the arrival of Mr. *Greifley*, I took the occasion of the ordinary, the day following to acknowledge unto your Grace the Comfort which I had received by your Letters; understanding by them the favour which you had done me, in diverting from me his Majesties, and his Highnesse displeasure: I shall notwithstanding intreat here leave by the same means by which I received so much happinesse to renew my humble, and most thankful acknowledgment unto your Grace. I most earnestly intreat your Grace to look upon me here as a servant that loves you in his heart, and that shall faithfully in all things Comply with what you can expect from such an one, and that therefore you will be pleased to preserve me still in the way, how I may serve his Majestie, and his Highnesse to their Content, and perform towards your Grace those offices of a servant, which may be most to your satisfaction. For I am now here in a dangerous time, in the greatest businesses, that have been treated of many years, and the bitterest storms threatening betwixt these Crowns, that have been these many ages. I have therefore no hope to save my self without I be guided by his Highnesse, and your Graces trusts and care of me.

*The Marquesse of Devon hath lately advertised hither, That he hath*

*Sir Walter Aston to Secretary Conway.*

hath severall times desired to have private audience with his Majestie, and hath not been able to procure any but what your Grace assists at. It is likewise advertised unto this King and his Ministers, that your Grace hath many meetings with the Sea Captains, and that your Counsels are how the War is to be made against *Spain*. For the avoiding of unnecessarie repetitions, I do here inclosed send your Grace a Copie of my Letter to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, wherein you will find a relation of all things that are come to my hands at this present, that may any way have reflection unto his Majesties service. And this is the course which I intend, and conceive most convenient to hold hereafter with your Grace, without you command me the contrary. In the said Copie your Grace will find a discourse of what hath lately passed betwixt my Lord of *Bristol*, and the *Conde of Olivarez* in the *Pardo*. Now that I may more fully discharge my dutie, I have thought fit here to acquaint your Grace, that since the putting off of the *Deposorios* at a meeting that my Lord and my self had with the *Conde*, he did make a solemn protestation, that if the Treatie of the Match did ever come on again with effect, it should onely be by his Lordships hands, and no other. I then understood it, and still do, but for a frothy protestation, yet have held it my dutie to advertise it, having passed in my hearing; the truth is, that my Lords answer was in Conformitie to his last in the *Pardo*, every way rejecting it, saying, That he had rather be confined to any Town in *Afrique*, then that his person should be any hinderance to the Match. Thus forbearing to trouble your Grace any farther, with my hearty prayers unto God for the continuance of his blessings unto you. I rest

*Your Graces, &c.*

W. A.

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*Sir Walter Aston to Secretary Conway, 22. Jan. 1623.*

*Right Honourable,*

BY the return of this Bearer Mr. *Greisley*, you will understand of the safe coming to my hands of your dispatch of the 30<sup>th</sup>. of the last moneth, with his Majesties Letters therein inclosed. I do now herewithal send an account unto his Majestie of my proceedings upon his Commands, which I do intreat your Honour to be pleased to

Sir Walter Aston to Secretary Conway.

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to present unto him, as also farther to acquaint his Majestie, that I have already spoken with divers of these Ministers, and given them such a declaration of his Majesties good intentions in the pressing at this season for the restitutions of the *Palatinate*, and Electoral dignity unto the Prince his Son in Law, as I have order to do by the said Letter, but do find they are here so possessed with the ill relations they receive out of *England*, that I with much difficultie can scarce give them any kind of satisfaction. I have acquainted the *Conde Olivarez*, with the answer, which your honour, and Mr. Secretarie *Calvert* had received from their Embassadours touching their audiences, the *Conde* himself having formerly acquainted me with their Complaint. His answer now was, That he understood they had acknowledged unto your Honours to have received from his Majestie in that point all kind of satisfaction, but that after you were gone the Marquesse of *Tnoisa* wrote a Letter to Secretarie *Calvert*, telling him, that he did not well remember himself, of what had passed at his being there, but had since called to mind, that he had procured some audiences with the Prince with much difficultie. To which I answered the *Conde*, That it seemed the Marquesse was very light of his advertisements, to give such informations as might breed ill understandings betwixt Princes, and esteem them of no more Consequence, then to forget what he had advertised with so much ease. Concerning that malicious report here raised of the Prince's treating a marriage in *France*. I desire your Honour to let his Majestie know, that it is advertised hither out of *England* as a thing so certain, that there is not a Minister of State (excepting the *Conde* of *Gondomar*) that hath not given some credit unto it. I have therefore according to his Majesties directions given such declarations touching the author and believers of it, as your Honour in his Majesties name hath commanded me: I have likewise received by Mr. *Grisly* your Letter of the 31. of the last: In answer of which, all that I shall need to say here unto your Honour is, that my Lord of *Bristol* hath received your former Letter, acquainting him with his Majesties pleasure concerning the same businesse, from whom his Majestie will receive an account thereof. This is all that I have to say to your Honour at this present touching those particulars mentioned in your Letter; I shall now here further acquaint you with such advertisements, as I conceive may any waies have reference unto his Majesties service. My Lord of *Bristol*, and my self repairing some few daies since unto the *Pardo*, having conference with the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, his Lordship acquainted the *Conde* with the Letters of revocation, which he had received

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from his Majestie, and withal desired that he would procure him licence to take his leave of the King. The *Conde* answered his Lordship, That he had much to say unto him by order from his Majestie, the substance of his speech was; That they had received large advertisements out of *England*, by which they understood the hard measure that he was there likely to suffer by the power of his enemies, and that the onely crime, which they could impute unto him, was for labouring to effect the marriage, which his Master could not but take much to heart, and held himself obliged to publish to the world the good service that my Lord had done unto the King of great *Britain*; and therefore for the better encouragement likewise of his own and all other Ministers that should truly serve their Masters, he was to offer him a blank paper signed by the King, wherein his Lordship might set down his own Conditions, and demands; which he said he did not propound to corrupt any servant of his Majesties, but for a publique declaration of what was due unto his Lordships proceedings. He said further, that in that offer, he laid before him the Lands, and Dignities, that were in his Masters power to dispose of; out of which he left it at his pleasure to choose what estate, or honour, he should think good, adding thereunto some other extravagant and disproportionable offers. My Lords answer was, That he was very sorry to hear this language used unto him, telling the *Conde*, that his Catholique Majestie did owe him nothing, but that what he had done was upon the King his Masters Commands, and without any intention to serve *Spain*. And that howsoever he might have reason to fear the power of his enemies, yet he trusted much upon the innocency of his own Cause, and the Justice of the King, and that he could not understand himself in any danger: but were he sure to lose his head at his arrival there, he would go to throw down himself at his Majesties feet and mercy, and rather there die upon a Scaffold, then be Duke of *Infantada* in *Spain*. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of this moneth, there was declared here in Council a resolution of this King, to make a journey to his frontier Towns in *Andalusia*, with an intention to begin his journey upon the 29. of this moneth *Stil. Ver.* And as I am informed his Majestie will there entertain himself the greatest part of these three moneths following; so that his return hither will not be until the beginning of *May*. My Lord of *Bristol* hath sent divers to the *Conde* for leave to dispeed himself of the King, but in respect of his Majesties being at the *Pardo*, he hath been hitherto delayed, and hath yet no certain day appointed for it: But I conceive it will be sometime this week. The Cause of the delaying of his

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his Lordships admittance to the King, as I understand is, that the same day that his Lordship shall declare his revocation to the King, they will here in Council declare the revocation of the Marquesse of Tnoisa. Howsoever in respect of the Kings departure, (at which time they use here to embarge all the mules, and means of carriage in this Town) I believe his Lordship will not begin his journey so soon as he intended.

All the relations which are lately come out of England do wish them to entertain themselves here with no farther hopes, that there is any intention to proceed to the Match; and this advice comes accompanied with such a report of the state of all things there, that hath much irritated all these Ministers, and let loose the tongues of the people against the proceedings of his Majestie, and Highnesse. I labour as much as I can, and as far as my directions will give me latitude, to give them better understandings of the real intentions of his Majestie and Highnesse: but divers of them cleerly tell me, That I professe one thing, and the actions of his Majestie and Highnesse (upon the which they must ground their belief) are differing from it. I shall therefore here in discharge of my duty advertize your Honour, that they do here expect nothing but a War, about which they have already held divers Councils, and go seriously to work, preparing themselves for what may happen. Which I desire your Honour to advertize his Majestie, being high time, as far as I am able to judge, that am here upon the place, that his Majestie do either resolve upon some course for the allaying of these storms; or that he go in hand with equal preparations. Having observed in former times, the strange rumours that have run in England upon small foundations; I have thought it fit to prevent the credit which may be given to idle relations by advertizing your Honour that I cannot conceive how any great attempt can be made from hence this year; howsoever businesses should go. The Squadron of the Kings Fleet (under the Command of *Don Fadrique de Toledo*) is come into *Cadix*, and joyned with that which *Don Juan Tazardo* is Captain of. And as I am credibly informed, this King will have by the end of April between 50. and 60. Gallions at Sea. It is true that other years the number commonly falls short of what is expected, and their setting forth to Sea some moneths later then the time appointed, but there is extraordinary care taken this year, that there be no default in either.

The chief end (that I can understand) of this Kings journey being to see the Fleet of Plate come in, to take view of his Armado, and see them

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them put to Sea. That which I understand is onely left alive of the Marriage here is, that the Jewels, which the Prince left with this King for the Infanta and her Ladies, are not yet returned, but it is intimated unto me, that if the Letters which they shall receive out of England upon the answer they have given to his Majestie about the businesse of the *Palatinate* be no better, then such as they have lately received, they will return the Jewels, and declare the businesse of the Match for broken. I shall therefore intreat your Honour to know his Majesties pleasure how I shall carry my self, if they be offered unto me, being resolved in the mean time untill I shall know his Majesties pleasure, if any such thing happen, absolutely to refuse them. The Princeesse some few daies since fell sick of a *Calentura*, of which she remaineth still in her bed, though it be said she is now somewhat better. I will conclude with many thanks for your friendly advertizements concerning my own particular, which (God willing) as far as I can, I will observe, and do earnestly intreat you, that you will please to continue the like favours unto me, which I shall highly esteem of. And so with a grateful acknowledgment of my obligations, I rest

Your Honours, &c.

*W. Aston.*

*Sir Walter Aston to the Lord Conway.*

*Right Honourable,*

I Have advertized by former dispatches, that the Parliament here had granted unto this King 60 millions of Duckats to be paid in 12 years, which with 12 millions which remain yet unpaid of what was given the King at the last Session, this King was to receive 72 millions in the 12 years next following. I shall now acquaint your Honour, that there are only 19 Cities that have voice in this Parliament, and that each of them do send hither two *Provadores*, (as they call them here) but these have no power finally to conclude any thing, but what is agreed on by them is to be approved of by the said Cities or the greatest number of them before it have the force of an Act of Parliament, and that therefore there hath been all possible art used to procure the Cities to confirm what hath been granted by their *Procuradores* touching the 60. millions; and it is here thought

that one of the motives of this Kings journey was, hoping by the authority of his presence to procure the consent unto the said gift of the 4. Cities which he is to passe by in this journey, namely *Cordova*, *Sivel*, *Jeen*, and *Granado*, it being here doubted, that the said Cities might make great opposition to the said grant, notwithstanding his Majestie hath not had such successe as was expected. But *Cordova* which was the first City with which his Majestie began, hath absolutely refused to give their Consent, letting his Majestie understand; though in as fair and respectful terms as they could expresse themselves, That it was a demand impossible for them to Comply withal. What the successe of this may be is doubtful, *Cordova* having given but an ill example to the other Cities, and yet it is rather believed here, that the greatest number of them being under the Command of such as are either this Kings servants, or absolutely under his dispose, that his Majestie will be able to overcome the businesse, and they are now busie how to settle the manner of the leavie of the said sum by yearly and equal portions.

They having found here divers inconveniences in their new Government of *Portugal* by way of Governours, are resolved to place Vice-Kings again there. And for to gratifie the Emperour have elected for that charge his third Brother *Don Carlos*, who is presently to make his repair thither. On the 27<sup>th</sup>. of the last moneth, my Lord of *Bristol* took his leave of the Queen and the Infanta, and on the Sunday following being the 29. of the said moneth, his Lordship delivered unto me the Powers which his Highnesse left with him, and those which have been since sent hither. His Lordship is preparing for his journey, and saith that he is already in such a forwardnesse, as upon the arrival here of Mr. *Greisley*, or any other from *England*, whereby he shall receive means for the taking up of moneys here, he will presently put himself upon the way. The Queen here some few daies since fell suddenly ill, and swooned two or three times; but her indisposition lasted not above two or three dayes; Her Majestie is now (thanks be to God) very well again. The King having received advice thereof intended (as it is said) to come presently post hither, but upon better news, his Majestie proceeds in his journey, and for any thing that I can understand, it will be *May* before his return to this Town.

There are lately thrown abroad in this Town divers Copies of a Proclamation pretended to be published in *Ireland* bearing date the 27. of January last. It hath made a great noise here, and divers of their Ministers have spoken with me about it, they conceiving it to be



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be contrary to what hath been lately Capitulated. For my part, I have been able to give them no answer, not having yet understood from your Honour, nor any of his Majesties Ministers, of any such Proclamation. I have seen the Proclamation as it came printed from thence, and do here inclosed send your Honour a Copy thereof, desiring you that you will acquaint his Majestie therewithal, that he may be pleased to Command therein what to his wisdom shall seem fit. To those that have spoken with me about this Proclamation (having first disclaimed the having had knowledge of any such thing) I have used discourses of mine own touching the abuses of those which are called titular Archbishops, Bishops, &c. letting them understand here, that if those kind of people have been busie there to plant secretly their Government, they have far exceeded the favour which was promised them, and given his Majestie just cause to give order for the reformation.

My last to your Honour was of the 7<sup>th</sup>. of February last by *Albers Rivas*, whom I dispatched with all diligence to you, since when I have received nothing from your Honour. I shall therefore, &c.

Your Honours, &c.

*W. A.*

*Sir Walter Aston to the Lord Conway,*

5<sup>th</sup>. June. 1624.

*Right Honourable,*

**I**N a former Dispatch which I lately made unto your Honour, I sent unto you the Copy of a Letter, which I then had newly received from the Secretarie *Don Andreas de Prada*, by which he advertised me, That the King his Master (according to what I had requested by memorial) had commanded, that all English Commodities and Manufactures (which I have long since advertized were prohibited by *Prematica's* published here for the reformation of abuses) should enter into these Kingdoms. I have long since performed divers diligences my self, both with the Secretary, and President of *Castile*, for the procuring a declaration of the said order, being careful to prevent such inconveniences as the King our Masters Subjects might fall into for want thereof. But having been tossed up and down between the

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Secretarie, and the President with several delays, the one remitting me to the other. I repaired to the *Conde of Olivarez* (suspecting some novelty in the businesse) and acquainted him, that upon the receipt of a Letter sent me from the Secretary *Don Andreas de Prada*, concerning the free entrance of English Commodities, I had given notice by a Copy of the said Letter unto the King my Master of what was therein Commanded, and had likewise advertised the Merchants that reside in these Kingdomes of the said Order. I also gave him account of the several diligences which I had performed with the President, and the Secretary, for the procuring a declaration thereof, and desired that he would presently command that there might be such course taken, that there should be no further delays used therein, since I should be loath to see the King my Masters Subjects encouraged by the said Order to repair hither with their Merchandizes, and fall into inconveniencies for want of notice given thereof unto their Ministers in the Ports. The *Conde* fell into discourses far from my expectation, asking mewither it was not free for any King, in his own Kingdom, to Command his own Subjects to wear what he pleased, saying further, that the English were not prohibited to bring in their Commodities, but that the King his Master might command his Subjects to spend the Bayes, and other Commodities of his own Kingdoms, and not to make use of those that came from forraign parts, as to his wisdom for the good of his Kingdoms should seem best. That there should be a suspension of the execution of the said *Prematica's* until *St. James's tide*, and no longer. To which I answered, That I made no doubt of the power, that every King had over his own Subjects; notwithstanding where it was article'd betwixt two Kings, that there should be a free admittance of each others Commodities unto their several Kingdomes, and after a Command should be given prohibiting either of them unto their Subjects the making use thereof, it could not but be understood a defrauding and deluding of the Articles, and the true intention of them: but I told him I came not to dispute this now, for the Secretaries Letter had desired me to take notice of another resolution, therefore I desired, that there might be a speedy and publique declaration made of what was therein signified unto me: or if there were any new resolution, that I might understand it. To which he answered (pretending that he spake it as a freedom which he used with me) but came out with it in such a manner, as I saw he was full of it. That the truth was, that they would proceed here, as they were proceeded withal in England. That the King my Master had lately gi-

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ven leave to the *Hollanders* to transport Artillery out of England, and had denied the like to their Embassadours having required it; which was (as he said) directly against the articles of peace, wherein it was Capitulated, That neither should assist with any kind of armes the enemy of the other. He said farther, That the English had taken *Ormu*, and there was no satisfaction given concerning that businesse, nor appearance of any intention to do it, and concluded, That when the Articles of Peace should be observed to them, they would do the like. I told the *Conde* I had not understood any thing of those particulars which he mentioned, and therefore could say nothing unto him; neither thought I fit to give him any further answer, being loath in a businesse of this importance, where the Articles of Peace between these Kingdoms are in question, to do any thing at guesse, but to advertise it to the King my Master, and to proceed according to such order as he shall please to give me. I do therefore intreat your Honour, that you will be pleased to acquaint his Majestie with what hath passed, wherein I doubt not but his Majestie will observe the distraction, and inconstancy of their proceedings here at present, in Commanding, what his Majestie will have found by this Secretaries Letter, and taking presently after new resolutions. After this language which the *Conde* hath used unto me, I cannot expect any reason or justice here, and the Merchants have many suites depending wherein they have received great injuries, whereof I have not hitherto complained, because I was in continual hope of procuring redresse, and their suites proceeded on, I cannot say as I would have wished, but according to the stile here, and in such manner as they have done in former times. I doubt not but his Majestie will therefore likewise please to consider what a stop there is likely to be here of all businesses concerning the Commerce, and either proceed as occasion shall there be offered, in the like manner, or take such a Course for settling things in better order, as to his wisdom shall seem best. I have since had some overtures made unto me, that the said declaration shall presently come out, in the mean time I would not wish, that the Merchants should adventure anything trusting to their courtesie here. By my last unto your Honour which was of the 20<sup>th</sup>. of *May*, I advertised the advice which was given hither, That the Galeons, that bring the Plate, were upon the way for these parts; Since when there is newes of their arrival at *St. Lucar*, excepting two of them which perished in their journey hitherward, the one sprung a leak in a calm day, and sunk so fast, that there were onely saved 52 men, the rest, which were about 200. persons, were all drowned, neither was any  
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of her freight saved. The other was their *Admirante*, which corresponds with our Vice-Admiral, which likewise sprung a leak, but all the men aboard were saved, and a good part of her silver. There is lost upon Register in these two Ships three millions, and it is thought that there perished in them above a million in silver, and goods unregistred.

Upon order that was lately sent unto the *Assistente* of *Sevil*, for the perfecting the Grant of the Millions to the King by the said City, there being doubt made whether it was a lawful Concession, or no; The *Assistente* called together those, that had voices in the said grant of the said Millions, and made a speech unto them, wishing a general Conformity to what his Majestie had desired of them; but the proposition was very distastful unto the greater number, who little expected to have heard that businesse revived again. And the people having gotten notice upon the breaking up of that meeting of what had been there propounded, in a tumultuous manner ran after the *Assistente*, who was returning to his house, and hearing such a clamour behind him, thought that the people had been disquieted by some accident, and stayed to have appeased them, but by the curses which he heard, and the blowes he received by the stones which were thrown at him, he quickly found against whom the fury of the people was bent, and so made all the haste he could to his own house, which at length he recovered sore wounded, and with much hazard of his life.

The *Irish* Priests, and others of that Kingdome which reside in this Court, begin to grow very busie here, and do promise great matters unto this King in the assistance which his Majestie shall find in *Ireland*, whensoever he shall please to attempt any thing against that Kingdome; but for any thing I can learn, there hath been as yet so little ear given unto them, that they have not descended to make any particular offer. But they are treated here with much Courtesie, *Tyr-Connel* being made a Page to the Queen, and the rest receiving good satisfaction. I will be as vigilant as I can to trace out their steps, and I hope I shall be able to give seasonable advertizement of their proceedings. Howsoever since secret Councels may be held, and resolutions taken, which I may misse of; I doubt not but the King our Master considering the present jealousies, and distastes betwixt these Crowns, will be vigilant to secure that Kingdom, that there may be nothing neglected upon which they may here take any sudden advantage. By the English Merchants that reside in *Malaga* I have received advice, that 3 *Scottish* Masters of Ships have lately had



*Sir Walter Aston to the Lord Conway.*

a sentence pronounced against them by the D. of *Medina Sidona*, wherein their Ships and all their goods are confiscated, for having brought *Holland* Commodities to that Port, and their persons condemned to the Gallies; which notwithstanding their apellation unto the Councel of War here, (which ought to have been admitted them) was presently put into execution. The same day that I received the advice, I gave in a Memorial to the Councel of State, representing the rigorous and unjust proceeding against the said Scottish Masters, and desired that they would send their order, that the Apellation might be admitted, and that their persons might be presently returned off of the Gallies. I likewise repaired to the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, acquainting him with the proceedings of the Duke, and was able to give him some examples of divers *Hollanders* that had been treated in the like occasion with far lesse rigour. Whereupon there is Command given according to what I have desired; and whatsoever shall become of their goods, I have a promise from the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, that their persons shall be treated with all Courtesie. It is published by the Ladies of the Palace, that the Queen is with Child, which hath filled this Court with much joy, and her Majestie hath so much better health now upon her being new with Child, then she hath had of the rest, that they are already here full of hopes that she will bring them a Prince, &c.

*Your Honours, &c.*

Wa. Aston.

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*The Abstract of a Letter from Sir Walter Aston to the Lord Conway, 17. July, 1624.*

**H**E acknowledgeth the receipt of his Majesties Letters of the 27. of June by Mr. *Wych*, and is busie in preparing to put those Directions in execution, and that being done, will give a speedy and full account. The Marquesse *Ynoisa* dispatched away a Post to *Spain* from Calice, and by him gave as malicious an account of his usage at his departure from *England*, and also of all other late passages there, as malice it self could have dictated. He omits no libels or infamous songs, nor spares his own inventions where they may serve to incense. The Credit they are like to give to their Embassadour, the

the height of discontent they are now in, the assurance given them of the weak and mean estate of all things in England may tempt them to offer the giving us a blow, where we are weakest. And therefore no necessary preparations for defence to be neglected on our part. None of their Armado stirres yet, but only 4. Gallions appointed to accompany for some daies the *Nova Espagna* Fleet that put to Sea the fourth of this present.

Sir *Walter Aston* doubts, that the light he hath received of the present state of things in England, and the Arguments to answer their Objections will hardly be applyed to give any satisfaction. (things being in so much distemper there) And where the best answers on both sides are recriminations, he conceives little is to be expected but a direct falling out. The cause of their retarding *Mendoza's* coming for England hath been their desire to see the issue of the proceedings with their Embassadour. All the Grandees, and principal persons of Spain are summoned to give their attendance with their armes, which is done by three Letters. 1. *Admonitoria*. 2. *Apercibitoria*. 3. *Executoria*. The two first are already set forth. And there is order likewise given for the *Bastalon* to be in a readinesse, which is the same as the Trained Bands in England. This is an ancient practise there upon suspicion of forraign invasion, or domestique Commotion. There are leavies new making according to custome, for supplying of Garrisons; and though these Leavies are greater then usually, yet not much worthy of note. An Embassadour arrived there for *Denmark*; his coming being given out to be to negotiate the businesse of the Palatinate, and to make overtures for a Peace with Holland: but if nothing be heard of this in England, it is not like to be true. A Request presented unto the King by a *Consulta* from the Inquisiter general, &c. to procure a *Jubile* from *Rome* for expiation of the late great Contempt done by a Frenchman to the Sacrament. The King promiseth to do it, and he, the Queen, and the whole household will endeavour to deserve it by fasting, and other duties. In his answer to the *Consulta* there is a passage, that intimates his intention of looking abroad with his armes. The Frenchman was condemned, burnt publicly, and dyed a Roman Catholique. There have been divers processions in expression of the general grief for that action. The King, Queen, his Brothers and Sister, with the Grandees, and the Councel went in procession about the two square Courts of the Palace, where there were 4. Altars built, one by the Kings care, the rest by the Queen, the Infants, Cardinal, *Don Carlos*, and *Donna Maria*, who joyned in the care of one of them. The

*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke.*

greatest riches of Diamonds and Pearls that were in the Churches thereabouts, and in the Kings store were presented on those Altars, and were at ten millions. They intend to dispatch one *Jaquesse Brones* Secretary of the Council of *Flanders*, by post into England to bring *Don Carlos* warrant to come away, and to stay Agent in England until the arrival of another Embassadour, which will not be long. They stay the giving out of the order for the free admittance of English Merchandizes, until they see what will be done with their Ships in the Downs, &c.

*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke, 20. of*  
Octob. 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

I Assure my self that your Grace is very confident, that I have not only pursued the Complaint which I here made against the Marquesse of *Tuvisa* with the duty of a Minister in obedience to the King my Masters Command, but as passionately interested against his person, who maliciously attempted to stain (if it had been possible) the honour of the Prince his Highnesse and your Graces my noblest friend. And certainly my Lord, I should be infinitely afflicted in not having brought this businesse to that issue which I thirsted after, could I accuse my self of having omitted any thing, that might have sharpened them here against him: But the *Conde of Olivarez* with a strong and violent hand hath delivered the Marquesse from any exemplary punishment, which would certainly have been inflicted upon him, had he been left to the Council of State, and without care either of the King his Masters honour or engagement, hath saved the Marquesse, and left the envy of it upon his Majestie, if the King our Master will so please to understand it.

In my last unto your Grace which was of the 24<sup>th</sup>. of the last moneth, I humbly intreated you to procure me his Majesties leave to return into England for some few moneths, which suit I do here again renew unto your Grace. Howsoever in respect of this novelty in the Marquesse his businesse, I will forbear putting my self upon the way until I hear of the receipt of this dispatch: since if his Majestie shall please to give any demonstrations here of his sence of their unworthy proceedings, I would be loath that those Commands should

should find me out of the way: with the remembrance of my duty,  
I rest

Your Graces, &c.

W<sup>a</sup>. Aston.

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Sir Walter Aston to the Duke the 10<sup>th</sup>. of  
Decemb. 1625.

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**He Portugal Armado put to Sea on the 12<sup>th</sup>. of the last moneth  
*Stil. Vet.* It consists of 22. Ships of War, 4. Victuallers, and  
two small Pinnaces of Advice: There goeth in it neer upon 4000.  
Land Souldiers. From Cadiz I have now fresh advice, That *Don*  
*Frederique* is still in the Port, with the Fleet which he Commands, but  
himself and his men all imbarqued. That Armado consisteth of some  
35. Ships of War, and about 8000. Souldiers, and both the Fleets are  
victualled for 8. moneths. That of Portugal had first order to ex-  
pect *Don Frederique* at the *Cape St. Vincent*, but hath since received  
command to proceed on the journey. It being now 27. dayes since  
the Fleet departed, and this remaining still in the Harbour, doth give  
me much cause of jealousie: especially understanding, that they have  
here advice, (which they give credit to) that the Troops lately de-  
livered to Count *Mansfelt* are sent to succour *Breda*, fearing (if it be  
so) that they laying hold of it as a breach of the Peace (which inter-  
pretation I meet with in every discourse) should presently fall with  
this Armado upon some part of Ireland. I have no farther ground  
for this distrust, then what I have here represented, which your Grace  
weighing with the importancy of their enterprise in hand for the re-  
covering the *Bays*, and the occasions that will be given them from  
England, do best know what rigid judgment to make. Sithence I  
wrote my other Letter unto your Grace, (which accompanies this)  
I understand the *French* Embassadour by order from the King his  
Master, hath given account unto this King of the Conclusion of the  
Match betwixt the Prince his Highnesse, and Madam *Christiane* his  
Masters Sister. Whereupon this King, and the whole Court put on  
*Galas*: I conceive (howsoever I have not heard any thing thereof  
by any Letter unto me) that this is ground enough to Congratulate  
with your Grace this good beginning which I shall affectionately  
wish.



*Dr. Williams to the Duke.*

with may in the successe in all times prove a happines to his Highnes and a particular blessing to your Grace. The *Conde of Gondomar* hath newly received a Command from the King his Master (signified unto him by the Secretary *Don Andreas de Prada*) to put himself presently upon the way for England, which he hath answered he will obey, howsoever I believe he will keep his *Christmasse* here. Mr. *Busler* whom your Grace left here placed with this King meets often with such discourses in the Palace, that as a faithful servant to your Grace, he hath no patience to bear, which he hath reason to believe will in a short time throw him out of this Court, which he would be glad to prevent, if he might have your Graces command to return, being infinitely desirous that your Grace would dispose otherwise of him. I will conclude with the same suit for my self, there being none that hath more need of comfort from your Grace. I best know, that I have no way deserved any change or decay in your Graces favour towards me, having not been slow in upbraiding this Nation with their obligations to your Grace, and their shameful ungratefulnesse, nor without a constant, and passionate desire to serve your Grace every way to your content, if your Graces Commands would but direct me what to do, I do therefore rest confident of your care and goodnesse towards me. And so with my prayers to God to continue his blessings upon you, I rest

Your Graces, &c.

*W. Aston.*

*Dr. Williams to the Duke.*

*My most noble Lord,*

**I**T hath pleased God to call for the Bishop of *London*. I am so conscious of mine own weaknesse and undeservings, that, as I never was, so now I dare not be a suiter for so great a charge. But if his Majestie by your Honours mediation, shall resolve to call me to perform him the best service I can in that place, I humbly beseech your Honour to admit me a suiter in these three circumstances.

First, that whereas my Lord of *London* hath survived our Lady day, and received all the profits, that should maintain a Bishop until *Michaelmasse*, I may by his Majesties favour retain all my own means until the next day after *Michaelmas* day; this is a Petition which I shall

shall be necessitated to make unto his Majestie (if his Majestie by your favour shall advance me to this place) and injureth no man else in the world.

Secondly, that whereas the Commissioners challenge from the Bishops revenues a matter of 200. l. *per annum*, (this Bishoprick being already very meanly endowed in regard of the continual charge, and exhaustments of the place) it would please his Majestie to leave in my hands (by way of *Commendam*) one Benefice of mine, which falls into his Majesties dispose upon my remove, until it be determined by the said Commissioners, whether any part of the Bishops means be due unto the Fabrique. My humble suit is for *Walgrave*, a Benefice with Cure in *North-hamptonshire*, where I have laid out all my estate in temporal Lands.

Lastly, that if it be found, that the Bishop is to joyn with the Residentiaries of *Pauls* in the repair of the Church, his Majestie would qualifie me by a *commendam* to hold one of my own Prebends, when it shall fall to be a Residentiarie also; that if I be charged with the burthen of Residentiarie, I might enjoy the profits of a Residentiarie.

These three requests do (I confesse) adde unto me, but do not preiudice any one else whatsoever. I submit them and my self to your Honours wisdom, &c.

The names of such Ecclesiastical promotions as I now retain, and will fall to be disposed of by the King, if I should be removed.

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|--|---|
| 1. Deanery of <i>Westminster</i> .     | 6. Chaunter of <i>Lincoln</i> .             |
| 2. Rectorie of <i>Dinam</i> .          | 7. Prebendary of <i>Asgarbie</i> .          |
| 3. Rectorie of <i>Walgrave</i> .       | 8. Prebendary of <i>Nonnington</i> .        |
| 4. Rectorie of <i>Grafion</i> .        | 9. Residentiaries place of <i>Lincoln</i> . |
| 5. Prebendary of <i>Peterborough</i> . |   |

Lord Keeper to the Duke, 27. July, 1621.

My most noble Lord,

AN unfortunate occasion of my Lords Grace his killing of a man casually (as it is here constantly reported) is the cause of my seconding of my yesterdaies Letter unto your Lordship. His Grace (upon this accident) is by the Common Law of England to forfeit all his estate unto his Majestie, and by the Canon Law (which is in force

force with us) irregular, *ipso facto*, and so suspended from all Ecclesiastical function, until he be again restored by his Superiour, which (I take it) is the Kings Majestie in this rank, and order of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction. If you send for Dr. Lamb he will acquaint your Lordship with the distinct penalties in this kind. I wish with all my heart, his Majestie would be as merciful, as ever he was in all his life; but yet I held it my duty to let his Majestie know by your Lordship, that his Majestie is fallen upon a matter of great advice, and deliberation. To adde affliction to the afflicted (as no doubt he is in mind) is against the Kings nature; to leave *virum Sanguinum*, or a man of blood, Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, is a thing that sounds very harsh in the old Councils, and Canons of the Church. The Papists will not spare to descant upon the one and the other. I leave the knot to his Majesties deep wisdom to advise and resolve upon. A rheume false into mine eye (together with the rumour I last wrote unto your Lordship about) hath fastened me unto my bed: which makes this Letter the more unhandsome. But I will take nothing to heart, that proceeds from his Majestie, or from that King, who hath raised me from the dust, to all that I am. If the truth were set down, 1. That my self was the first mover for a temporary Keeper. 2. That his Majestie hath promised me upon the relinquishing of the Seal (or before) one of the best places in this Church, as most graciously he did. 3. The year and a halfe probation left out, which is to no purpose, but to scare away my men, and to put a disgrace upon me. 4. That my assisting Judges were defired, and named by my self, which your Lordship knowes to be most true: Such a declaration would neither shame me, nor blemish his Majesties service in my person. And it were fitter a great deal, the penning thereof were referred to my self, then to Mr. Secretarie, or the Lord Treasurer, who (if he had his demerit) deserves not to hold his staffe half a year. I do verily believe, they will hasten to finish this act, before I shall hear from your Lordship, which if they do, God send me patience and as much care to serve him, as I have, and ever had to serve my Master; And then all must needs be well. I send your Lordship a Copy of that speech I have thought upon, to deliver at London upon Munday next at the Commission of the Subsidies: If his Majestie have leisure to cast his eye thereupon, and to give direction to have any thing else delivered, or any point of this suppressed, I would be directed by your Lordship whom I recommend in prayers to Gods good guiding and protection. And do rest, &c.

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*The E. of Southhamptons Letter to the Bishop of  
Lincolne.*

*My Lord,*

I Have found your Lordship already so favourable, and affectionate unto me, that I shall be still hereafter desirous to acquaint you with what concerns me, and bold to ask your advice, and counsel; which makes me to send this bearer to give your Lordship an account of my answer from Court, which I cannot better do, then by sending unto you the answer it self, which you shall receive here enclosed. Wherein you may see what is expected from me, that I may not onely magnifie his Majesties Gracious dealing with me, but cause all my friends to do the like, and restrain them from making any extenuation of my errorrs, which if they be disposed to do, or not to do is impossible for me to alter, that am not likely for a good time to see any other then mine own family. For my self, I shall ever be ready (as is fit) to acknowledg his Majesties favour to me, but can hardly perswade my self, that any error by me committed, deserved more punishment then I have had, and hope that his Majestie will not expect, that I should not confesse my self to have been subject to a Star-chamber sentence, which God forbid I should ever do. I have, and shall do according to that Part of my Lord of *Buckingham*s advice to speak of it as little as I can, and so shall I do in other things to meddle as little as I can. I purpose (God willing) to go to morrow to *Tychfield* (the place of mine confinement) there to stay as long as the King shall please.

*Sir William Parkhurst* must go with me, who hoped to have been discharged at the return of my Messenger from Court, and seemes much troubled, that he is not, pretending that it is extream inconvenient for him, in regard of his own occasions. He is fearful he should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lordship writes to the Court, you would but put my Lord of *Buckingham* in remembrance of it, you shall (I think) do him a favour. For my part it is so little trouble to me, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returns, I beseech you return by him this inclosed Letter, and beleive that whatsoever I am I will ever be, Your Lordships most assured friend to do you service.

*H. Southampton, &c.*

The



*The Lord Keepers answer to the E. of Southhamptons*  
*Letter. 2. August, 1621.*

*My Lord,*

I Have perused your Lordships Letter, and that enclosed I return back again. And doubt nothing of my Lord Admirals remembrance of you upon the first opportunity. Great works (as I hope this will be a perfect reconciling of his Majesties affections to you, of your best studies, and endeavours to the service of his Majestie) do require some time: They are but poore actions, and of no continuance that are Slubbered up in an instance. I know (my Lord) mens tongues are their own, nor lieth it in your power to prescribe what shall be spoken for you, or against you. But to avoid that *Complacencia* (as the Divines call it) that itching, and inviting of any interpretation, which shall so add to your innocencie, as it shall derogate from the Kings mercie, which (I speak as I would do before God) had a great cloud of jealousies, and suspicions to break through, before it came to shine upon you. This (I take it) is the effect of my Lords exhortation, and I know it ever hath been your Lordships resolution. How far you could be questioned in the Star-Chamber, is an unseasonable time to resolve. The King hath waved off all judgment, and left nothing for your meditation, but love and favour, and the increasng of both these. Yet I know (upon my late occasions to peruse Presidents in that Court) that small offences have been in that Court (in former times) deeply censured. In the sixteenth of *Edward the second* (for the Court is of great antiquity) *Henry Lord Beaumont*, running a way of his own about the invading of *Scotland*, and dissenting from the rest of the Kings Councel, because of his absenting himself from the Councel Table was fined and imprisoned: though otherwies a most worthy and deserving Noble man. But God be thanked your Lordship hath no cause to trouble your head about these meditations. For (if I have any judgment) you are in a way to demean your self as you may expect rather more new additions, then suspect the least diminution from his Gracious Majestie. For mine own part, assure your self, I am your true and faithfull servant, and shall never cease so to continue, as long as you make good your professions to this Noble Lord. Of whose extraordinary goodnesse, your Lordship, and my self are remarkable reflections. The one of his sweetnesse in forgetting of wrongs, the other of his forwardnesse in conferring of courtesies.

With my best respect to your Lordship and my Noble Lady, and my

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

my Commendations to Sir William Parkhurst, I recommend your Lordship, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the E. of South-hampton. 2. Aug. 1621.*

*My most noble Lord,*

I Humbly crave your pardon for often troubling your Honour with my idle Lines, and beseech you to remember, that amongst many miseries my sudden greatnesse comes accompanied with, this is not the least, that I can no otherwaies enjoy the happinesse of your presence. God is my witnesse, the Lord Keeper hath often (not without grief of heart) envied the fortunes of a poor Scholar, one Dr. Williams, late Dean of *Westminster*, who was so much blessed in the free accessses in that kind, as his Lordship (without a great quantity of goodnesse in your self) may scarce hope for. This inclosed will let your Lordship understand, that somewhat is to be finished in that excellent piece of mercy, which his Majestie (your hand guiding the Pencil) is about to expresse in the E. of *Southampton*. It is full time his Attendant were revoked in my poor opinion, and himself left to the Custody of his own good Angel. There is no readier way to stop the monthes of idle men, nor to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of Justice, to behold nothing but goodnesse and mercy. And the more breathing time you shall carve out between this total enlargement and the next accesse of the Parliament, the better it will be for his Majesties service. Onely remember this, that now you are left to be your own Remembrancer. Of all actions forget not those of mercy, and Goodnesse, wherein men draw nighest to God himself: Nor of all Persons, prisoners and afflicted *Josephs*: Celerity doth redouble an act of mercy. But why do I turn a Preacher of goodnesse unto him, who (in my own particular) hath shewed himself to be composed of nothing else? Remember your Noble Self, and forget the aggravations of malice, and envy, and then forget if you can the E. of *Southampton*. God blesse you, and your royal Guest, and bring you both, after many years yet most happily run over here upon earth, to be his blessed guests in the Kingdom of Heaven.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning the Lord of  
St. Albons, October 27<sup>th</sup>. 1621.*

*My most noble Lord,*

I Have received your Lordships expression concerning the Pause I made upon the two Patents. The Proclamation of writing to the Kings hand, and my Lord of St. *Albons* pardon. The former I have sealed this morning in duty, and obedience to your Lordships intimation. The latter I have not yet sealed, but do represent (in all lowlinesse and humility) these few Considerations by your Lordship to his sacred Majestie, wherein let your Lordship make no question, but I have advised with the best Lawyers in the Kingdom. And after this representation, I will perform whatsoever your Lordship shall direct.

1. His Majestie and your Lordship do conceive, that my Lord of St. *Albons* pardon and grant of his fine came both together to my hands, and so your Lordship directs me to passe the one and the other. But his Lordship was too cunning for me. He passed his fine (whereby he hath deceived his Creditors) ten dayes before he presented his pardon to the Seal. So as now in his pardon, I find his Parliament fine excepted, which he hath before the sealing of the same obtained and procured. And whether the house of Parliament will not hold themselves mocked and derided with such an exception, I leave to your Lordships wisdom. These two Grants are opposite and contradictory (in this point) the one to the other.

2. The King pardons in particular words, All sums of money and rewards taken for false judgments or decrees. And therefore the exception of the Parliamentary Censure (being inflicted but for the same taking of moneys and rewards) coming a good way after falleth too late in Law, and is of no force to satisfie the Lords (as I am informed) and I believe this clause was never seen in any other pardon.

3. The King pardoneth in my Lord of St. *Albon*, the stealing away, altering, rasing, and interlining of his Majesties Rowles, Records, Briefs, &c. which are more in a Lord Chancellors pardon, then the imbezeling of his Majesties jewels in a Lord Chamberlains. And yet the Lord Chancellour *Elsmore* could not indure that clause in my Lord of *Sommersets* Pardon, unlesse he would name the jewels in particular.

4. I will not meddle or touch upon those mistakings which may fall between the Parliament and his Majestie, or the mis-interpretation that enemies may make hereof to your Lordships prejudice, because

I see (in his Majesties great wisdom) these are not regarded. Onely I could have wished, the Pardon had been referred to the Council board, and so passed. I have now discharged my self of those poor scruples, which (in respect onely to his Majesties service, and your Lordships honour) have wrought this short stay of my Lord of St. Albons Pardon. Whatsoever your Lordship shall now direct, I will most readily (craving pardon for this not undutiful boldnesse) put in execution. Because some speech may fall of this dayes speech, which I had occasion to make in the Common Pleas, where a Bishop was never seen sitting there these 70. years, I have presumed to inclose a Copy thereof, because it was a very short one.

Your Lordship shall not need to take that great pains (which your Lordship to my unexpressible comfort hath so often done) in writing. What Command soever your Lordship shall impose upon me as touching this pardon, your Lordships expression to Mr. Packer or the bearer shall deliver it sufficiently. God from heaven continue the showing and heaping of his blessings upon your Lordship, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 22. July, 1621.*

*My noble Lord,*

**W**ith my truest affections, and thankfulness premised. I do not doubt but his Majestie and your Lordship do now enjoy the general applause of your goodnesse to the Earl of Southampton. Saturday last he came, and dined with me, and I find him more cordially affected to the service of the King, and your Lordships love and friendship, then ever he was, when he lay a prisoner in my house. Yet the Sunshine of his Majesties favour, though most bright upon others (more open offenders) is noted to be somewhat eclipsed towards him. What directions soever his Majestie gave, the order is somewhat tart upon the Earl. The word of Confinement, spread about the City (though I observed not one syllable so quick to fall from his Majestie) his Keeper much wondred at. The act of the Council published in our names, who were neither present thereat, or heard one word of the same: yet upon my credit the Earl takes all things patiently, and thankfully, though others wonder at the same.

Mr. Secretary signed a Petition of one *Rookwood* a Papist, and prisoner in the Fleet upon five several executions, that I should grant him



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke,*

him his liberty. The Kings name is used, and the mediation of the Spanish Embassadour. If I breaking rules so fouly in favour of a Papist, (which I am resolved to keep straight against all men whatsoever) I shall infame my self in the very beginning. If his Majestie will have any special indulgence in this kind, I expect intimation immediately from the King, or your Lordship, and no third Person. Your Lordship will not expect from me any account of Councel businessse, nor the setting at liberty of the late prisoners. Mr. Secretary is secret enough for imparting any thing unto me, so as I must remain in a necessary ignorance.

There is a Country man of mine one *Griffith*, a suiter unto the Court for the reversion of an Auditors place, recommended thereunto by his Master the Lord Treasurer. The place is of great Consequence for the disposing of his Majesties renewes. The man is unfit for this, as presumptuous and daring for any place. Sir *Robert Pys* saith, he hath already written to your Lordship, and I doubt not of your care thereof. Doctour *Lamb* (the bearer) is a very sufficient, and (for ought I ever heard of him) an honest man. The King hath imployed him in discovery of counterfeit Witchcrafts, in reforming of no ounterfeit, but hearty Puritanes, and he hath done good service therein. If his Majestie (now in our pure ayr of *Northamptonshire*) doe not shew him some favor, or grace, either by Knighting, or by using him courteously, The Brethren (having gotten out their *Telverton* again) will neglect and molest him too unsufferably. God from Heaven blesse you. Remember your Deanerie, and Dean of *Westminster*, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the Earl Marshals  
place, 1. Septemb. 1621.*

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Beseech your Lordship to interpret this Letter well, and fairly, which no malice (though never so provoked) but my duty to his Majestie, and love to your Lordship hath drawn from me: both which respects as long as I keep inviolably, I will not omit for the fear of any man, or the losse of any thing in this world, to do any act, which my Conscience shall inform me to belong unto that place, wherein the King by your favour hath intrusted me. I received this morning two Commands from his Majestie, the one about a Pension of 2000 l. yearly, and the other concerning the office of the Earle *Marshal*, both

both conferred on the Right Honourable the Earle of *Arundel*. For the former, although this is a very unseasonable time to receive such large Pensions from so bountiful a King, and that the Parliament so soon approaching is very like to take notice thereof, and that this pension might (under the correction of your better judgment) have been conveniently deferred until that Assembly had been over. Yet who am I that should question the wisdom, and bounty of my Master? I have therefore sealed the same, praying secretly unto God to make his Majestie as abounding in wealth as he is in goodnesse. But the latter I dare not seale (my good Lord) until I heare your Lordships resolution to these few Questions.

Whether his Majestie by expressing himself in the delivery of the staffe to my Lord of *Arundel*, that he was moved thereunto for the easing of the rest of the Comissioners, who had, before, the execution of that office, did not imply, that his Majestie intended to impart unto my Lord no greater power, then was formerly granted to the Lords Comissioners. If it were so, this Pattent should not have exceeded their Pattent, whereas it doth inlarge it self beyond that by many dimensions.

Whether it is his Majesties meaning, that the Pattent leaping over the powers of the three last Earles, *Essex*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Somerset*, should refer onely to my Lords own Ancestors, *Howards*, and *Mowbrayes* Dukes of Norfolk, who clamed this place by a way of inheritance. The usual reference of Pattents being unto the last, and immediate predeceffour, and not unto the remote, whose powers (in those unsettled and troublesome times are vage, uncertain, and impossible to be limited.

Whether it is his Majesties meaning, that this great Lord should bestow those offices, settled of a long time in the Crown, Sir *Edward Zouch* his in the Court, Sir *George Reinel's* in the Kings Bench, and divers others. All which this new Pattent doth sweep away, being places of great worth and dignity.

Whether that his Majesties meaning, and your Lordships, that my Lord *Stewards* place shall be (for all his power of Judicature in the *Verge*,) either altogether extinguished, or at leastwise subordinated unto this new Office? A point considerable, because of the greatnesse of that person, and his neernesse in blood to his Majestie, and the Prince his Highnesse.

Lastly, Whether it be intended, that the offices of the Earl Marshal of England, and the Marshal of the Kings house, which seem in former times to have been distinct offices, shall be now united in this great

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

great Lord? A power limited by no Law, or Record, but to be searcht out from Chronicles, Antiquaries, Heralds, and such obsolete Monuments, and thereupon held these 60 years, (for my Lord of *Essex* his power was clearly bounded, and limited) unfit to be revived by the policy of this State.

These Questions, if his Majestie intended onely the renewing of this Commission of the Earl Marshals in my Lord of *Arundel* are material and to the purpose. But if his Majestie aymed withal, at the reviving of this old office, *A la ventura*, whose face is unknown to the people of this age; upon the least intimation from your Lordship, I will seal the Patent. And I beseech your Lordship to pardon my discretion in this doubt, and irresolution. It is my place to be wary what innovation passeth the Seal. I may offend that great Lord in this small stay, but your Lordship cannot but know, how little I lose, when I lose but him, whom without the least cause in the world, I have irreconcilably lost already. All that I desire is, that you may know what is done, and I will ever do what your Lordship (being once informed) shall direct as becometh, &c.

That there is a difference betwixt the Earl Marshal, and the Marshall of the Kings house; See *Lamberts Archiron*: or of the High Courts of Justice in England

*Circa Medium.*

The Marshal of England, and the Constable are united in a Court, which handleth onely Duels out of the Realm, matters within the Realm, as Combats, Blazon, Armorie, &c. but it may meddle with nothing tryable by the Lawes of the Land.

The Marshal of the Kings Household is united in a Court with the Seneschal or Steward, which holds plea of Trespasses, Contracts, and Covenants made within the Verge, and that according to the Lawes of the Land, *Vid. Artic. Super Cart. C. 3.4.5.*

We do all of us conceive the King intended the first place only for this great Lord, and the second to remain in the Lord Stewards managing. But this new Patent hath comprehended them both. This was fit to be presented to your Lordship.

*The*

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.* 16. Decemb.  
1621.

*Most Noble Lord,*

I Have seen many expressions of your love in other mens Letters (where it doth most naturally and purely declare it self) since I received any of mine own. It is much your Lordship should spare me those thoughts, which pour out themselves in my occasions: But to have me and my affaires in a kind of affectionate remembrance, when your Lordship is saluting of other Noble men, is more then ever I shall be able otherwaies to requite then with true prayers and best wishes. I received this afternoon (by Sir *John Brook*) a most loving Letter from your Lordship, but dated the 26<sup>th</sup>. of *Novemb.* imparting your care over me for the committing of one *Beeston* for breach of a Decree. My Noble Lord, Decrees once made must be put in execution, or else, I will confesse this Court to be the greatest imposture, and Grievance in this Kingdom. The damned in Hell do never cease repining at the Justice of God, nor the prisoners in the Fleet, at the Decrees in Chancery; of the which hell of prisoners this one, for antiquity and obstinacy may passe for a Lucifer. I neither know him, nor his cause, but as long as he stands in Contempr, he is not like to have any more liberty.

His Majesties last Letter, though never so full of honey (as I find by passages reported out of the same, being as yet, not so happy as to have a sight thereof) hath notwithstanding afforded those Spiders which infest that noble House of Commons, some poyson, and ill constructions to feed upon, and to induce a new diversion, or plain Cessation of weightier busineses. His Majestie inferes, (and that most truly, for where were the Commons before *Henry* the first gave them authority to meet in Parliaments) that their priviledges are but Graces and favours of former Kings, which they claim to be their inheritance, and natural birthrights. Both these assertions (if men were peaceably disposed, and affected the dispatch of the common busineses) might be easily reconciled.

These priviledges were originally the favours of Princes, and are now inherent in their persons. Nor doth his Majestie go about to impair or diminish them. If his Majestie will be pleased to qualifie that passage with some mild and noble exposition, and require them strictly to prepare things for a Session, and to leave this needlesse dispute, his Majestie shall thereby make it appear to all wise and just men, that these persons are opposite to those common ends, whereof



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they vaunt themselves the only Patrons. But do this Maiestie what he please, I am afraid (although herein the Lord Treasurer and others do differ from me) they do not affect a Sessions, nor intend to give at this time any Subsidie at all.

Will the King be pleased therefore to add in this Letter (which must be here necessarily upon Munday morning) that if they will not prepare bills for a Session, his Maiesty will break up this Parliament without any longer Prorogation, and acquainting the Kingdom with their undutifulnesse and obstinacy, supply the present wants by some other meanes. Or will his Maiesty (upon their refusal) presently rejoin the the Assembly until the appointed 8<sup>th</sup>. of February. This course is fittest for further advice, but the other to expresse a just indignation. I dare advise nothing in so high a point, but humbly beseech almighty God to illuminate his Maiesties understanding to insist upon that course, which shall be most behoveful for the advancement of his Service. In our house his Maiesties servants are very strong, and increase every day, nor is there the least fear of any Malignant opposition. God reward all your Lordships goodnesse and affection towards. &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about Mr. Thomas Murrays Dispensation, &c. 23. Febr. 1624.*

*My most Noble Lord,*

I should fail very much of my duty to his Maiestie, if before the sealing of Mr. Thomas Murrays Dispensation, I should not acquaint his Maiestie explicitly, and freely, with the nature of this act, far differing from any dispensation in this kind, ever granted by his Maiestie, since his happie coming to the Crown of England. For (to say nothing of the right of the election of this Provost, which being originally not in the King, but in the fellows, and now by their neglect devolved unto me, shall be fully and absolutely at his Maiesties command) the place is a living with cure of souls, and I am to institute and admit him to the cure of souls of the Parish of Batton by the expresse Letter of the Statute; without admission, it is impossible he should receive any real or rightful possession of the same. Now that his Maiestie or any of his Predecessors, did ever dispence with a Lay-man to hold cure of souls, I think will be hard for any man to shew by any warrantable precedent, or record whatsoever. And I know his Maiestie to be as much averse from giving any such precedent,

sident, or any *Prince* in Christendome living this day. This is also-  
 gether differing a *Deanery*, or an *Hospital*, which being livings with-  
 out cure, have been, and may be justly conferred by his Majesty upon  
 Lay-men with dispensations *à non promoveandis*. If Sir Henry Savil's  
 example be objected, I answer, (besides that the Queen made Clayme  
 to the gift of the place by *hapse*, occasioned through the promotion  
 of the Provost to the Bishoprick of *Chichester*; whereas his Maje-  
 stie hath no such Clayme thereunto at this time) That Savil never  
 durst take true possession of the place, but was onely slipt in by the  
 Bishop, (who for fear of the Earl of *Essex* made bold with the con-  
 science). *Ad Curam et regimen Collegii*, that is, to the care and govern-  
 ment of the Colledge. Whereas by the expresse words of the founda-  
 tion, he is to be admitted, *Ad Curam animarum Parochianorum Ecclesie  
 Eatonie*, to the Cure of the souls of all the people of the Parish of  
 Eaton. Secondly, I hold it no Disparagement to Mr. Murray (nor do  
 find him all together averse from the same) to enter into orders in  
 the reign of a King so favourable to our Coat, as (Gods name be  
 praised for it) reigns now over us. This will give satisfaction to all  
 the Church, bring him into this place according to statute, and the  
 foundation of that dead King; prevent such a dangerous precedent  
 for a Lay-man to possesse cure of souls in the Bye, and Center of all  
 the Realm; and by an everlasting testimony of his Majesties Piety to  
 the Church of England. Thirdly, what opinion this Gentleman  
 hath of our Church government is better known to his Majesty,  
 then to me. If he should be averse thereunto, it were such a blow  
 unto the Church, (the number of the Fellowes and Students there  
 considered) as the like were never given by publique authority these  
 50. Years. Fourthly, howsoever his Majesty, and the Prince his  
 Highnesse shall resolve thereof (at whose feet I lie to be wholly dis-  
 posed) I hope it is neither of their royal intendments to transfer the  
 Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon the Fellowes of that house, who have  
 rashly usurped a Power of admitting their Provost by any example  
 seen before. Whereas all Provosts as well the Churchmen, who come  
 in by Election, as the Lay-men recommended by the late *Queen*,  
 were (as the foundation exactly requires it) admitted by the Bishop  
 of *Lincoln* their Diocesand and Visitor. I hope it was Mr. Mur-  
 rays inexperience, rather then neglect (never deserved by me) that  
 directed them to this strange course: subscription, and other confor-  
 mities, to be acted in the presence of the Visitor, are essentially to be  
 required before he can be admitted Provost of Eaton. Lastly, Mr.  
 Murray hath hitherto mistaken all his course. He must be first

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke*

dispensed withal (If his Majestie in his wisdom shall hold it fit) and then Elected first Fellow, and then Provost of the Colledg (if he will come in regularly, and safely) whereas now contrary to *Savills* president, he is first Elected, and then goes on with his dispensation.

All this I most humbly intreat your Lordship to make known to the Prince his Highnesse, and as much as your Lordship thinks fit thereof, to his Majestie. I will only adde one note, and so end. It will be no more disparagement for Mr. *Murray* his Highnesse Schoolmaster to enter into orders, then it was for *Coxe* King *Edwards* Schoolmaster, a Master of Requests, and Privie Counsellour, to do the like, who afterwards became a worthy Prelate of this Church. I have discharged my duty to the King, Prince, and the Church of England. It remains now, that I should (as I will) religiously obey whatsoever I shall be directed in the sequel of this businesse. And so I rest, &c.

*Postscript.*

**M**Y Lord, Mr. *Murray* since came unto me, to whom I shewed this Letter, and told him I would send it unto you to be shewed unto the King, and the Prince. I find him willing to run all courses, Priesthood onely excepted. If the King will dispence with him, my Letter notwithstanding, I humbly beseech his Majestie, to write a Letter unto me, as a warrant to admit him only *Ad Curam et Regimen Collegii*, instead of the other words, *Ad Curam animarum*. I schooled him soundly against Puritanisme, which he disavowes, though somewhat faintly; I hope his Highnesse and the King will second it.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about the Liberties of Westminster, 6. May. 1621.*

*My most Noble Lord,*

I humbly beseech your Lordship to be a little sensible of those injurious affronts, offered without any shew of equity unto this poor Liberty of *Westminster*. And for Gods sake let me not want that protection, which not your Lordship only, but the two *Civils*, and the

the Earl of *Somerset*, who neither regarded the Church, Learning, nor Honour in any measure as you do, have ever afforded every Dean of this Church. When I had (to my thinking) given the Knight Marshal full, and too much satisfaction, this day a Letter was offered to the Table (in my presence) violently pursued by the Lord Steward, and the Earl Marshal, to command this liberty, (which had stood unquestioned these 700 years) to shew reason to Mr. Attourney, and Mr. Soliciter, why they prescribe against the Knight Marshal. A Course (as my Lord President said openly) not to be offered to any subject of England. It is our Charter, and freehold of inheritance, to be shewed only in a Court of Justice, and at the Kings Bench, which we are very ready to do. And we may as well be questioned by a Letter from the Councel, for all the Land we have, as for this. My Lord, the jurisdiction of this place brings not a penny to my purse, but it hath brought much sorrow to my heart, and now teares to my eyes, that I should be that unfortunate Contemptible man, who for all the King, and your Lordships favour, and the true pains I take in answer thereunto, must be trampled down above all the Deans that lived in this place. Nor would it ever grieve me, if I had deserved it from these Lords by the least disrespect in all the world. I beseech you for the Churches sake, and your Honours sake to be sensible hereof, and to know of the Bishop of *Winchester*, London, *Durham*, Mr. *Packer*, or Sir *Robert Pye*, whether ever any question hath been made to this liberty in this kind. If a Letter had been recorded to question the same, when the Lord Admiral was Steward, and the Lord Keeper Dean thereof, judge you in your Wisdom what would become thereof in future posterity, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. Aug. 23. 1621.*

*My most noble Lord,*

Y<sup>E</sup>sterday upon the receipt of your Lordships Letters of the 19<sup>th</sup> of this instant concerning the halting of the businesse of the original Writs, I lent presently for Mr. Attourney, and Mr. Soliciter, who were altogether unprovided for their parts of the dispatch, and are casually forced so to be, because three several Officers, in whose records they are to search, are now out of Town, and do not return yet these 7 daies. But your Lordship shall not fail to have



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

have all things concluded 3. weeks before the Term, and I will (of purpose) put off all general sealing until it be effected.

In the mean time (your Lordships Letter notwithstanding) it will be nothing for your Lordships ease to have Sir George Chaworth any way interested in this office of the originals; but I hold it fitter to leave it (as it is in Law and Equity) forfeited for non-payment of rent in his Majesties hands; for upon that issue I do not doubt but my Lord of St. Albons, and Sir George will be content to hear reason.

I have received extraordinary respects, and expressions from my Noble Lord the Lord Marquess Humiltra, which doth exceedingly comfort and encourage me to go on, with some more alacrity through the difficulties of this restless place. I beseech your Lordship (who is *Causa Causarum*, the first Cause, that sets all these other Causes of my Comforts in Going) to take notice of the same, and to undertake this favour to be placed upon a poor honest hearted man, who would (if he were any way able) requite it. Gods blessings, and the prayers of a poor Bishop ever attend your Lordship, &c.

*Postscript.*

**T**he Spanish Embassadour took the alarm very speedily of the titular Romish Bishop, and before my departure from his house at Islington, (whither I went privately to him) did write books to Rome and Spain to prevent it. But I am afraid, that Tobie will prove but an Apocryphal, and no Canonical intelligencer, acquainting the State with this project, for the Jesuites rather than for Jesus sake.

Sir Tobie  
Matbernes.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about the Lord Treasurer,*

Septemb. 9<sup>th</sup>. 1622.

*My most Noble Lord,*

**T**hat I neither wrote unto your Lordship, nor waited upon your Lordship since, my intolerable scandalizing by the Lord Treasurer, this is the true and only cause: I was so moved to have all my diligent service, pains, and unsotted justice thus rewarded by a Lord, who is reputed wise, that I have neither slept, read, written, or eaten any thing since that time; until the last night, that the Ladies sent for

for me (I suspect of purpose) to Wallingford house, and put me out of my humour. I have lost the love, and affection of my men, by seizing upon their Papers, perusing all their answers to Petitions, casting up their moneys, received by way of fees, (even to half Crowns, and two shillings) and finding them all to be poor honest Gentlemen, that have maintained themselves in my service by the greatnesse of my pains, and not the greatnesse of their fees. They are most of them valiant men, that do not serve me for gain, but for experience, and reputation. And desire to be brought to the Test to shew their several books, and to be confronted by any one man with whom they contracted, or from whom they demanded any Fee at all. The greatest summe in their books is five pounds, and those very few, and sent unto them from Earls, and Barons. All the rest are some 200. 10s. 3s. 2s. 6d. and 2s. And this is the oppression in my house, that the Kingdom (of the Common Lawyers peradventure, who have lost I confesse hereby 20000l. at the least, saved in the purses of the Subjects) doth now groan under.

Now I humbly beseech your Lordship to peruse this paper here inclosed, and the issue I do joyn with the Lord Treasurer, and to acquaint (at the least) the King, and the Prince, how unworthily I am assayed by this Lord; who (in my soul and conscience I believe it) either invents these things out of his own head, and ignorance of this Court, or hath taken them up from base, unworthy, and most unexperienced people. Lastly, because no art of mine (who am so much indebted for all my frugality) could in the thoughts of a devil incarnate breed any suspicion, that I gained by this office, excepting the purchase of my Grandfathers Lands, whereunto my Lord Chamberlains nobleness, and your Lordships encouragement, gave the invitation. I do make your Lordship (as your Lordship hath been often pleased to honour me) my humble Confessor in that business, and do send your Lordship a note enclosed what money I paid, what I borrowed, and what is still owing for the purchase.

I beseech your Lordship to cast your eye upon the paper, and lay it aside that it be not lost. And having now poured out my soul and sorrow unto your Lordships breast, I And my heart much eased, and humbly beseech your Lordship to compensate the wrongs of

Your most humble and honest  
servant.

the College Porters; nor no looks at all, but his Majesty's duties, which

*The Fair and Familiar Conference which the Lord Treasurer had with the Lord Keeper after some Exposulations of his own, and the issue joyned thereupon, at White-Hall, Septemb. 7. 1622.*

- Obj. 1.* **T**Here is taken 40000 l. for Petitions in your house this year.  
*Sol.* Not much above the fortieth part of the money for all the dispatches of the Chancery, Star-Chamber, Councel-Table, Parliament, the great Diocesse of *Lincoln*, the jurisdiction of *Westminster* and *S<sup>t</sup>. Martins le Grand*; All which have resort to my house by Petitions.
- Ob. 2.* You have your self a share in the money.  
*Sol.* Then let me have no share in Gods Kingdom; it is such a basenesse as never came within the compasse of my thoughts.
- Ob. 3.* It is commonly reported you pay to my Lord Admiral 1000 l. per mens<sup>m</sup>.  
*Sol.* As true as the other. The means of my place will reach to no more then two moneths.
- Ob. 4.* You never receive any Petitions with your own hands, but turn them to your Secretaries, who take double Fees, one for receiving, and the other for delivering.  
*Sol.* Let the Cloysters at *Westminster* answer for me. I never to this day received any Petition from my Secretaries, which I had formerly delivered unto them with my own hands. This is a new fashion which my Lord hath found in some other Courts.
- Ob. 5.* You sell dayes of hearing at higher rates then ever they were at.  
*Sol.* I never disposed of any since I came to this place, but leave them wholly to the Six Clerks, and Registers, to be set down in their Antiquity. Unlesse his Lordship means hearing of motions in the paper of Peremptories, which I seldom deny upon any Petition, and which are worth no money at all.
- Ob. 6.* You usually reverse Decrees upon Petitions.  
*Sol.* I have never reversed, altered, explained, or endured a motion, or Petition, that touched upon a decree once pronounced; but have sometimes made orders in pursuance of the same.
- Ob. 7.* You have 3 Door-keepers, and are so locked up, that no man can have access unto you.  
*Sol.* I have no such officer in all my house, unlesse his Lordship meanes the Colledge Porters; nor no locks at all, but his Majesties businesse, which

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which I must respect above Ceremonies and Complements.

You are cryed out against over all the Kingdom for an unsufferable oppression and grievance. *Ob. 8.*

His Lordship (if he have any friends) may hear of such a Cry, and yet be pleased to mistake the person cryed out against. *Sw.*

All the Lords of the Councel cry out upon you, and you are a wretched and a friendlesse man, if no man acquaints you with it. *Ob. 9.*

I am a wretched man indeed if it be so. And your Lordship (at the least) a very bold man if it be otherwise. *Sw.*

I will produce particular witnesses, and make all these Charges good. *Ob. 10.*

I know your Lordship cannot, and I do call upon you to do it, as suspecting all to be but your Lordships envie and malice to that service of the Kings, and ease of his Subjects, which God hath enabled me to accomplish, and perform in this troublesome Office. *Sw.*

*J. L. C. S.*

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 21. of September. 1622.*

*My most noble Lord,*

**M**Y Lord *Brook* diswarning me (from his Majestie) from coming to *Theobalds* this day, I was enforced to trouble your Lordship with these few lines. My most humble thanks for your Lordships most free, and most loving Letter, I do willingly confesse my error, yet still of the mind, that your Lordship only, who justly taxed it, hath made it to be an error. If your love to me had not exceeded all reason, and desert of mine, my complaints were not effects of melancholy, but of a real suffering, and misery. I do confesse (and rest satisfied withal) that his Majesties Justice, and your Lordships love are anchors strong enough, for a mind more tossed then mine is, to ride at. Yet pardon me, my Noble Lord, upon this Consideration, if I exceeded a little in passion, the natural effect of honesty, and innocency. A Church-man, and a woman, have no greater Idol under heaven, then their good name. And yet they cannot fight at all. Nor with credit, scold, and least of all recriminate, to protect and defend the same. Their onely revenge left them, is to grieve, and complain.

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My



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

My misery I took to be this. I am one of those that labour in his Majesties Cole-mines under the earth, and out of sight. My pains from five a clock in the morning to 10. or 12. at night are restlesse, and endlesse, but under earth, and out of his Majesties sight. What other men do (or but seem to do,) it is ever before the Kings face, and if his Majestie will not look on it, if he hath eares about him, he shall be told of it so often by the parties themselves, that he must hear of it whether he will or no.

And as my service (by this remotenesse is hidden from the King, so is it liable to be traduced to the King, and my relief (as in dispatching the motions of poor men by Petitions allowable to my orders,) made to be a Grievance to the Common Wealth. But in all these fourteen dayes (wherein by the voice of the City, I have remained a prisoner in my house,) where is that one party grieved, that hath troubled his Majestie with Complaints against me? One-ly my Lord Marshal hath dealt with my noble Lord Marquesse *Hamilton*, my Lord of *Carlisle*, my Lord Treasurer (as your Lordship may soon know by asking the question) to make a faction to disgrace the poor Lord Keeper, who never dreamt thereof.

Sir *Gilbert Haughton* hath complained to my Lord Treasurer of my men for taking, (*Hugh Holland* was by and heard him;) If your Lordship do but ask him his reason, I think it will appear how well grounded their complaints be. Upon those two former Anchors I will therefore rest, and that so far from Cowardinesse, that I will either challenge them before his Majestie to make good their suggestions, or else (which I hold the greater valour of all, and which I confesse I wanted before this check of your Lordships) go on in my Course, and scorn all these base, and unworthy scandals as your Lordship shall direct me.

I have sent a Copy of a Letter of mine to my Lord *Anan*, which his Majestie hath seen, and given his assent it should not be kept private; yet I would humbly crave your Lordships opinion thereof (by *Mr. Packer*) before any Copy goeth from me.

I am ever, &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. 12<sup>th</sup>. Octob. 1622.*

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Will speak with the Jesuit to morrow, and deliver him his admo-  
nition from the King, but do send your Lordship here inclosed a  
Copie, of the Conference which I procured from him without his  
privity, onely to make his Majestie, and your Lordship merrie. I  
have also received a Letter concerning the French Embassador which  
I will be ready to put in execution as your Lordships servant, and  
Deputy but not otherwise. Yet your Lordship will give me out of  
that freedom (which was wont to be well interpreted by your Lord-  
ship) to let your Lordship understand, that I find all busineses of  
restitution of ships, and goods ~~thus~~ taken, to have been handled be-  
fore the Councel in Star-chamber all the reigns of Henry 7<sup>th</sup>. and H.  
8<sup>th</sup>. without any contradiction of the Lord Admiral for the time  
being. But this to your Lordship in secret. I will be very careful  
of the Earl of *Desmond*, that neither his cause, nor your Lordships  
reputation shall suffer thereby. And this is the account I can yet  
give of your Lordships Letter, save that I humbly expect that answer,  
which your Lordships own Luckie hand hath promised in the post-  
script of one of them. I would ease your Lordship in this place, but  
to prevent complaint that (peradventure) may be first invented, and  
then presented. Your Lordship shall heare of a long narrative of  
our Councel Table dispatches. That passage of our letter, which  
(as it now goeth) doth hope that his Majestie will spare to confer  
any suites of moment in Ireland until the return of the Irish Com-  
mittee, was a blunt request to the King, to grant no suites there  
without our advice. Against this (concluded in my absence the first  
day of the Tearn) I spake first to the Prince privately (who allowed  
of my reasons) then (when the President would not mend it) at the  
Table openly, that I did utterly dislike we should tutour his Majesty,  
how to grant suits especially in Letters, that are to remain upon re-  
cord. My Lord of Cantuar. and the, Earle Marshal said, they had  
many Presidents in that kind. I answered, I knew they had none but  
in the Kings time, and that I wished them (as I do) all torn out of  
the book and cast into the fire. I concealed my reasons, which now  
I will reveal unto your Lordship, because this is the third time, I  
have exprest unto your Lordship under my hand, my dislike of  
this kind of Limiting his Majestie otherwise then by word of mouth.  
First if his Majestie (which we see so often done) shall dispose of  
these suites otherwise, heret are so many records remaining to ma-  
litious

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

Itious men to observe his Majesties averfeneffe from following the advice of the Councel board.

Secondly, if your Lordship shall procure any suit in this kind here are records also in time to come, that you crosse and thwart the government of the Kingdom. And I pray God this be but mine own jealousie. The passage in the Letter with my Prating, and his Highnesse help was altered, and for fear of misreporting, I make bold to relate the truth hereof to your Lordship.

My Lords proceeded very resolutely in those reformatiōs, which concerned other men. The Commission of fees enables the Committees to call before them all the Judges, as well as their under Officers (which was more then the King exprest at Hampton Court) amongst whom, the Lord Keeper is one, who from the Conquest to this day, was never subjected to the call of any power in the Kingdom, but the King and the Parliament. And although I have not one Pennie of Fee, which hath not continued above one hundred years, yet for the honour of the Prime place in the state (though now disgraced by the contemptiblenesse of the Officer) I am an humble suiter unto your Lordship, that my Person may be exempted from the command of Sr. *Edwin Sandys*, or indeed any man els, besides the King my Master. Otherwise I shall very patiently endure it, but the King hereafter may dislike it. The Justices of the Peace are also appointed, but (if the Judges and my-self be not utterly deceived) to no purpose in the world, nor service to his Majestie. But when their Lordships came to surrender the under Leivtenantships to his Majesties hands, whom the Lord President, and I held fit to be created henceforward by several Commissions under the Great Seal, it was stiffly opposed, and stood upon, that the King should name them in their Lordships Commissions onely (according to a President in the late Queens time) that is, the King shall have the naming, but they still the appointing of them. And now it was pressed, that his Majestie intended not to disgrace his Lords &c: and your Lordship is to have a Letter from Mr. Secretarie to know his Majesties mind herein. If his Majestie shall not ordain them to be created by several Pattents, it were better a great deal they should continue as they do. I am very tedious in the manner and (peradventure) in the matter of this Letter I humbly crave pardon &c:

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*Passages between the Lord Keeper and  
Don Francisco.*

**H**E was very inquisitive if I had already, or intended to impart, what he had told me the night before in secret, to any man, to the which he did adde a desire of secrecie.

Because {  
 1. The King had charged him and the Frier to be very secret.  
 2. The Embassadors did not know that he had imparted these things unto me.  
 3. The Popes were secret instructions which they gave to the Fryer to urge and presse the same points, which himself had done to the King.

He confessed, that the greatest part of the Friers instructions were to do all the worst offices he could against the Duke, and to lay the breach of the marriage, and disturbance of the peace upon him.

He excused the bringing the Copy of that paper unto me, because the Marquesse had it yet in his custody, but said he would procure it with all speed. I desired him to do it, the rather because, besides my approbation of the form, and manner of the writing; I might be, by it, instructed how to apply my self, to do his Majestie service therein, as I found by that Conference, his Majesties bent, and inclination.

He having understood, that there was, though a close, yet an indissoluble friendship betwixt the Duke and my self, desired me to shew some way, how the Duke might be won unto them, and to continue the peace. I answered I would pursue any fair course, that should be proposed that way; but for my self, that I never meddled with matters of State, or of this nature, but was onely employed (before this journey of the Prince's) in matters of mine own Court, and in the Pulpit.

He desired to know if they might rely upon the King, whom onely they found peaceably addicted; otherwise they would cease all mediation, and prepare for War. I answered, That he was a King that never broke his word, and he knew what he had said unto them.

He commended much the courage and resolution of the Lord Treasurer, which I told him we all did, as a probable sign of his innocency.

He said that the Marquesse had dispatched three *Couriers*, and expected large Propositions from Spain to be made unto his Majesty, concerning the present restitution of the Palatinate. And that



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

if this failed, they were at an end of Treaty, and the Embassadours would forthwith return home.

11<sup>th</sup>. April, 1622.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Received your Graces Letter by Mr. *Killegrew*, so full of that sweetnesse, as could never issue from any other Fountain, then that one breast so fraught with all goodnesse, and virtue; *Dick Winne* may write freely, (as he talks) but alas! what can my wretched self perform, that should deserve the least acknowledgment from him, to whom I owe so infinitely much more then the sacrificing of my life amounts to? onely my love makes me sometimes write, and many times fear, fondly and foolishly, for the which I hope your Grace will pardon me. I have been frighted more about three weeks since (about quarrels and jarres, which now *Dick Greyhams* hath related in part unto the King) then at this present, I am. For Gods sake be not offended with me, if I exhort you to do that, which I know you do, to observe his Highnesse with all lowlinesse, humility, and dutiful obedience, and to piece up any the least seam-rent, that heat, and earnestnesse might, peradventure, seem to produce. I know (by looking into my self) these are the symptomes of good natures. And for Gods sake I beg it, as you regard the prayers of a poor friend, if the great negotiation be well concluded, let all private disagreements be wrapped up in the same, and never accompany your Lordships into England, to the joy and exultation of your enemies, if any such ingrateful Divels are here to be found: I am in good earnest, and your Lordship would believe it, if your Grace saw but the tears, that accompany these lines.

I beseech you, in your Letter to the Marquesse *Hamilton*, intimate unto him your confidence, and reliance upon his watchfulnesse, and fidelity in all turns, which may concern your Grace. I have often lied unto his Lordship, that your Grace hath in many of my Letters expressed as much, and so have pacified him for the time. If we did know, but upon whom to keep a watchful eye for disaffected reports concerning your service, it is all the intelligence he and I do expect. His Majestie (as we conceive) is resolved to take certain oaths, which  
you

you have sent hither, and I pray God afterward no farther difficulties be objected. I have had an hours discourse with his Majestie yesterday morning, and do find him so disposed towards your Lordship as my heart desireth; yet hath been informed of the discontentments both with the *Comde de Olivarez*, and the Earl of *Bristol*. Here is a strange Creation passed of late, of a Vice-Counteship of *Maidenhead*, passed to the Heires Males, who must be called hereafter Vice-Countesse *Fynch*. But my Lady Dutchesse hath the Land, and (as they say) hath already sold it to my Lord Treasurer, or shared it with him. I stayed the Patent until I was assured your Lordship gave way thereunto.

My good Lord, because I have heard, that they have in those parts a conceipt of our church, as that they will not believe we have any Liturgie, or Book of common prayer at all, I have (at mine own cost) caused the Liturgy to be translated into Spanish, and fairely Printed, and do send you by this bearer a Couple of the Books, one for his Highnesse, the other for your Grace. Not sending any more unlesse your Grace will give directions. His Majestie was acquainted therewith, and alloweth of the businesse exceedingly. The Translator is a Dominican, a zealous Protestant, and a good Scholer, and I have secured him to our Church, with a Benefice, and a good Prebend. Because we expect every day the dispatching of Sr. Francis Cottington thitherward, I will not trouble your Grace farther at this time, but do earnestly pray unto God to blesse your Grace both now and ever hereafter with all his favours and blessings spiritual and temporal. And rest &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 30. Aug. 1623.*

*My is please your Grace,*

I Have no businesse of the least Consideration to trouble your Grace withal at this time, but that I would not suffer Mr. *Greyham* to return without an expression of my respect and obligation. I would advertize your Grace at large of the course held with our Recufants, but that I know Mr. Secretary is enjoined to do so, who best can. His Majestie at Salisbury having referred the suit of these Embassadors to the Earl of Carlisle, and Mr. Secretary Conway, sent (by their resolutions) some articles unto us (the Lord Treasurer, Secretary *Calvert*, Sir *Richard Weston* and my self) to this effect.

II. To

1. To grant a pardon of all offences past, with a dispensation for those to come to all the Roman Catholiques, obnoxious to any laws made against the Recusants.

2. And then to issue forth two general Commands under the Great Seal, the first to all the Judges, and Justices of the Peace, and the other to all Bishops, Chancellours and Commissaries not to execute any Statute made against them.

Their general pardon we have passed, and sent unto his Majestie (from whence it is not returned) in as full and ample manner as they could desire, and pen it. The other general and vast prohibition, I prevailed with the rest of the Lords to stop as yet, and gave (in three dayes conference) such reasons to the 2. Embassadors, that (although it is no easie matter to satisie the Caprichiousnesse of the Latter of them) yet they were both content it should rest until the Infanta had been six Months in England. My reason, if it may please your Grace, was this. Although this general favour, and connivence, whereof there are 20. of the Prime Councel know nothing as yet, must at last be known to all the Land: yet is there a great difference between the publishing thereof *A Golpe*, at one push, as it were, and that instilling of it into their knowledg by little, and little by reason of favours done to particular Catholiques. The former course might breed a general impression, if not a mutinie. This Letter will but loosen the tongues but of some few particulars, who understand of their neighbours pardon, and having vented their dislikes, when they have not many to Sympathise with them, they grow coole again, so as his majestie afterwards may enlarge these favours without any danger at all.

Secondly, to forbid Iudges (against their oaths) and Justices of the Peace (*sworn likewise*) to execute the law of the Land, is a thing (unpresidented in this Kingdom *et Durus Sermo* a very harsh and bitter pill to be digested upon a suddain, and without some preparation. But to grant a pardon, even for a thing that is *Malum in se*, and a dispensation with Penal Lawes (in the profit whereof the King onely is interested) is usual and full of presidents, and examples. And yet is this Letter, onely tending to the safety, the former but to the glory and insolencie of the Papiists, and the magnifying the service of the Embassadors ends too dearly purchased, with the indangering of a tumult in three Kingdomes.

Thirdly and Lastly, his Majestie useth to speak to his Bishops, Judges and Justices of the peace, by his Chancelour, or Keeper (as your Grace well knoweth) and by his Great Seal; and I can signify his Majesties pleasure unto them, with lesse noise and danger, which

I mean to do hereafter, (if the Embassadors shall presse it,) to this effect, unlesse your Grace shall (from his Highnesse, or your own judgment) direct otherwise.

That whereas his Majestie being at this time to mediate for fa-  
vour to many Protestants in forraign parts, with Princes of another  
religion, and to sweeten the entertainment of the Princess into this  
Kingdom, who is as yet a Roman Catholique, doth hold a mitigati-  
on of the rigour of those lawes made against Romanists, to be a ne-  
cessary inducement to both those purposes, and hath therefore issued  
forth some pardons of Grace, and favour to such Roman Catho-  
liques, of whose faithfullnesse and fidelity to the State he rests assured.  
That therefore you the Lords, Bishops, Judges, and Justices, (each  
of those to be written unto by themselves) doe take notice of this his  
Majesties pardon, and dispensation, with all such penal Lawes, and  
demean your selves accordingly, &c.

Thus have I been too tedious and troublesome unto your Grace, and Crave your pardon therefore; and some directions (which you may cause Sir Francis Cottington or some other to write, without your Graces trouble) if there shall appeare any cause of alteration. Doctor Bishop, the new Bishop of Calcedon is come to London privately, and I am much troubled thereabouts, not knowing what to advise his Majestie in this posture, as things stand at this present. If you were shipped (with the Infanta) the onely Council were to let the Judges proceed with them presently, hang him out of the way, and the King to Blame my Lord of Cantuar: or myself for it. But before you be shipped in such form and manner I dare not assent or Connive at such a course. It is (my gracious Lord) a most insolent Part, and an offence (as I take it) Against our common Law (and not the statutes onely which are dispensed withall,) for an English man to take such a consecration without the Kings consent, and especially to use any Episcopal Jurisdiction in this Kingdom without the royal assent, and Bishops, have been in this State put to their fine, and ransom for doing so three hundred years ago.

I will cease to be further troublesome and pray to Almighty God to blesse your Grace, and in all humbleness take my leave, and rest &c.



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 14<sup>th</sup> of October,*  
1621.

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Humbly thank your Lordship for your most sweet and loving Letter, which (as Sir *George Goring* could not but observe) hath much revived me drooping under the unusual weight of so many businesses. Let God suffer me no longer to be, then I shall be true, plain, faithful and affectionately respectful of your Lordship, as being most bound unto your Lordship for these so many fruits, but far more for the tree that bore them, your love and affection.

If your Lordship shall not think it inconvenient, I do beseech your Lordship to present this Petition inclosed, either by word or writing unto his Majestie, and to procure a speedy dispatch thereof, because we are to meet on Thursday next. Also to acquaint his Majestie, that I stumble at the Proclamation (now coming to the Seal) against any, that shall draw, or present any bill for his Majesties signature, besides those Clerks which usually draw them up, by virtue of their places. It is most prejudicial to my place, the Lord Treasurer, and the Judges *itinerant* who are often occasioned to draw up, and present to his Majestie divers matters, and especially pardons of Course. It is also too strong a tie upon your Lordships hands, being intended by his Majestie against Projectors and Scriveners only. If it shall please his Majestie therefore to make an exception of the Lords of his Council, and Judges of Assize, it may passe to the contentment of all men. Mr. Attourney saith he meant this exception, but I find it not sufficiently expressed in the Proclamation.

Also I humbly beseech your Lordship to meddle with no pardon for the Lord of *St. Albans*, until I shall have the happinesse to confer with your Lordship; the pardoning of his fine is much spoken against, not for the matter, (for no man objects to that) but for the manner, which is full of knavery, and a wicked president. For by this assignacion of his fine, he is protected from all his Creditors, which I dare say was neither his Majesties, nor your Lordships meaning.

I have presumed to send your Lordship a true Copy of that speech, which I made at *Westminster Hall* at my entrance upon this office; because somewhat was to be spoken at so great a change, and alteration in so high a Court; And I was never so much troubled in my life, not how, but what to speak. I humbly crave pardon, if I have failed.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

failed in points of discretion, which a wiser man (in such a case) might easily do.

With my heartiest prayers unto God to continue all his blessings upon your Lordship, I rest deservedly, &c.

*Postscript* To recover of your Lordship the Court of Wards, and do wish with all my heart, he may have contentment in that, or any thing else, but orderly, and in a right method.

**M**Y Lord, I find my Lord Treasurer affectionately touched with removing from the Court of Wards; and do wish with all my heart, he may have contentment in that, or any thing else, but orderly, and in a right method. Let him hold it, but by your Lordships favour, not his own power, or wilfulness. And this must be apparent, and visible: Let all our greatnesse depend (as it ought) upon yours, the true original. Let the King be *Pharaoh*, your self *Joseph*, and let us come after as your half-brethren. God blesse you, &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning Sir John Michel,*

8. Aug. 1622.

*My most noble Lord,*

**I**N the cause of Sir *John Michel*, which hath so often wearied this Court, vexed my Lady your Mother, and now flieth (as it seemeth) unto your Lordship, I have made an order the last day of the Term, assisted by the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. *Baron Bromley* in the presence, and with the full consent of Sir *John Michel*, who then objected nothing against the same; but now in a dead vacation, when both the adverse party, and his Councel are out of Town, and that I cannot possible hear otherwise, then with one ear, he clamours against me, (most uncivilly,) and would have me contrary to all conscience and honesty reverse the same. The substance of the order is not so difficult and intricate, but your Lordship will easily find out the equity or harshnesse thereof.

Sir *Lawrence Hyde* makes a motion in behalf of one *Straley* (a party whose face I never saw,) that whereas Sir *John Michel* had put a bill into this Court against him, and one *Sayes*, five years ago for certain Lands and Woods, (determinable properly at the Common Law) and having upon a certificate betwixt himself, and *Sayes*, without the knowledge of the said *Straley*, procured an injunction from the last Lord Chancellour for the possession of the same, locks up the said

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

*Sirelley* with the said injunction, and never proceeds to bring his cause to hearing within five years.

It was moved therefore, that either Sir *Johns* bill might be dismissed to a tryal at the Common Law, or else that he might be ordered to bring it to hearing in this Court, with a direction to save all wastes of Timber trees (in favour of either party, that should prove the true owner) until the cause should receive hearing.

Sir *John* being present in Court, made choice of this last offer, and so it was ordered accordingly. And this is that order, that this strange man hath so often, of late, complained of to your Mother, and now, as it seemeth, to your Lordship. God is my witnesse, I have never denied either justice, or favour (which was to be justified,) to this man, or any other, that had the least relation to your good and most noble Mother. And I hope your Lordship is perswaded thereof. If your Lordship will give me leave (without your Lordships trouble) to wait upon you, at any time this day, your Lordship shall appoint, I would impart two or three words unto your Lordship, concerning your Lordships own businesse. Remaining ever, &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**N**OW that I understand by Sir *John Hipsley* how things stand between your Grace and the Earl of *Bristol*; I have done with that Lord, and will never think of him otherwise, then as your Grace shall direct. Nor did I ever write one syllable to that effect, but in contemplation of performing true service to your Grace.

I was much abused in the Lady *Hennage* her Vice-Countesship, being made to believe, it was your Grace's act, or else I had stayed it finally, (until the Princes return) as I did for a time. If your Grace will give any directions in matters of that nature, I can pursue them. My Lord Treasurers sons Wardship is a thing of no moment at all, and not worthy your Graces thinking of. And in good faith as far as getting, and Covetousnesse will give him leave, I do not see, but that Lord is (since your absence) very respective of your Grace, especially in your own person, and affairs. I never received any answer from your Grace concerning the Provostship of *Eton*, nor was it good manners for me to presse for the same, because in my Letters I did presume to name my self. The place is mine to bestow for this time,

time, and not his Majesties, nor the Colledges. But I do very willingly reserve the Collation of the same, to be disposed as your Grace shall please. Yet this will be a sufficient answer to any former promise, or any reasonable Competitor.

His Majestie (as your Grace best knoweth) promised me at the delivery of the Seal a better Bishoprick, and intended it certainly, if any such had fallen. My Charge is exceeding great, my Bribes are very little, my Bishoprick, Deanery, and other *Commendams* do not clear unto me above one thousand pounds a year at the uppermost. It hath pleased God, that the casualties of my office, (which is all the benefit of the same, and enriched my Lord *Elsmor*,) hath not been worth to me these two years past one shilling. It may mend when it pleaseth God.

I leave all these, and my self, who am your Vassal, at your Lordships feet, and do rest, &c.

Your Graces, &c.

*J. L. C. S.*

*Postscript.*

**M**AY it please your Grace, I troubled his Highnesse with a long relation of the *Consilio* we had about his Majesties taking of the Oath. Which I had written to your Grace, and not to his Highnesse, but that I was frightened by great men, that I had done his Highnesse a displeasure in pressing his Majesties assent unto the same. And I protest I was so poorly accompanied in my opinion, that I was truly afraid I had not done well. And therefore I took occasion to write my reasons at large unto the Prince. Which I heard by Sir *John Hipsley* from your Grace was well taken. I humbly thank your Grace, who I know forwarded the same. And so I perceive by a Letter from his Highnesse so full of sweetnesse, as I am overwhelmed.

*J. L. C. S.*

*The*



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. 6. January.*

1623.

*May it please your Grace,*

**D**On Francisco being with me this night, about a pardon for a poor Irish man, whom I reprieved from execution, at the suit of those Gentlemen of *Navarra*, which are here with the Marquesse, let fall by a kind of supposition (affirming the matter to be as yet in the womb, and not fully shaped, and digested) words to this effect.

That if the King of Spain should make a double marriage with the second Brother of *France*, and his Sister, and bestow the Palatinate as a Dower upon his sister, in what case were we then?

I answered, That we should be then, in no worse case (for ought I knew) then we are now: but that *Germany* might be in a far better case. Peradventure it was but a word let fall to terrifie me withal.

But your Grace may make that use of it, as to understand the language, if your Grace shall hear any mention thereof hereafter. I am very glad, and do give God thanks *par le mehora de sa bijuela hermosissima*. And do rest, &c.

Surely the French Embassadour is secret and more suspected then formerly by the People.

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*Mr. John Packer to the Lord Keeper, 21. January,*  
1623.

*May it please your Lordship,*

**S**ince my coming hither, finding my Lord at good opportunity, I have acquainted him in what perplexity I found your Lordship at my coming from *Westminster*, and upon what reason. And though I am sorrie I can make no comfortable relation of his answer, yet because it so much importeth your Lordship to know in what terms you stand, I could not conceal it from you, being agreeable to those reports your Lordship hath already heard, saving that his Grace told me, he doth not seek your ruine (as some others had related) but onely will hereafter cease to study your fortune, as formerly he hath done; and withal added the reason, that your Lordship hath run a course opposite to him, which though he had cause to take ill at your hands,

hands, yet he could have passed it over, if it had been out of conscience, or affection to his Majesties service, or the Publique good, but being both dangerous to your countrie, and prejudicial to the cause of religion (which your Lordship above all other men should have laboured to uphold) he thought, he could not with reason continue that strictnesse of friendship, where your Lordship had made such a separation, especially having divers times out of his love to you, assayed to bring you into the right way, which once you promised to follow; but the two last times you met in Councel, he found, that you took your cue just as other men did, and joyned with them in their opinions, whose aim was to tax his proceedings in the managing of the Princes businesse. But instead of laying it upon him, they did no lesse, then throw dirt in the Princes teeth. For either they would make him a *spinster*, or put the refusal of the Ladie upon his Highnesse, and to lay an aspersion upon his carriage there. His Lordships Conclusion with me was, that for any carriage of his, he desireth no other favour, but that the greatest Councel in England may be judge of it, and the like he wisheth for other mens actions. Yet I did what I could to perswade his Grace to expostulate the matter with your Lordship, which he told me, he would no more do, having done it already, but found no other satisfaction, but that by your practise you rejected what he had said, and besides, divulged what had passed between you, as he evidently perceived meeting with it among others. Whereby you gained onely thus much, that they esteemed of you, as of a man fit, by reason of your passion, to set all on fire, but held you not worthy of trust, because you, that would not be true to him, would never be so to them.

My Lord, this is a part I would never have chosen, but being imposed by your Lordship, I could do you no better service then faithfully, and plainly to discharge it, leaving the use to your Lordships wisdom, and ever resting

Your Lordships most humbly at  
command,

J. Packer

The

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. 2. February, 1623.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**N**ot presuming to write unto your Grace being so offended at me, but resolved with sorrow, and Patience, to try what I was able to suffer, without the least thought of opposition against your absolute pleasure; his Highnesse hath encouraged, and commanded the contrary, assuring me (which I cannot repeat again without teares) that upon his credit, your Grace neither did, nor doth conceive any such real distast against me, but did onely suspect I had conceived his Highnesses mind in that full manner, which his Highnesse himself, is now fully satisfied. I did not. In the which error, and mistake of the Prince his resolution, for want of conference with your Grace, or some other, I did (as I freely confessed) offend his Highnesse, but not your Grace at all. Being ever resolved to stand, or fall (though diversified in opinion) Your Graces most faithful and constant servant. I humbly therefore beseech your Grace first to receive back this enclosed Letter of Mr. *Packers*, and to burn the same, then to receive my soule in gage and pawn.

1. That I never harboured in this breast one thought of opposition to hurt your Grace from the first hour I saw your face.

2. I never consulted (much lesse practised) with any Lord of that Committee to vote on the one or the other side.

3. I do not know that Lord in England, that hath any design against your Grace, and when I shall know any such, whosoever it be, I shall be his enemy as long as he continueth so unto your Grace.

4. I do not know (nor do I believe,) but that your Grace stands as firm in his Majesties favour, and in his Highnesse as ever you did in all your life.

5. I never made the least shew of siding with any opposite Lord unto your Grace, and I defie any man, that shall avow it.

6. I never divulged your Graces, or the secrets of any man.

In the next place, I do most humbly and heartily crave your Graces pardon, for suspecting (that is the utmost of my offence), so true, real, and Noble a friend. Yet that I may not appear a very beast, give me leave once to remember and ever after to forget, the motives, which drew me so to do. And I will do it in the same order they came into my head.

1. Your Graces charge upon me at York house, that I was a man odious to all the world.

*2. Michels*

2. *Michels Voluntary Confession*, that my Lord *Mandevill* shew-  
ed him a Letter from Spain, avowing, that the first action your Grace  
would imbarque your self in, should be to remove me out of this  
place, which the least word of your mouth unto me, is able to  
do.

3. A report of the *Venetian* Embassador, that amongst others, your  
Grace intended to sacrifice me this Parliament to appease the dislike  
of immunities exercised towards the Catholiques.

4. Your Graces motion unto my self concerning my place (which  
now I absolutely know proceeded out of love) at White-hall.

5. A most wicked lie, that one told, he heard your Grace move  
his Highnesse to speake unto me to quit my place, after your Graces  
professions of friendship to me.

6. Mr. Secretarie *Conwaies* and my Lord *Carlile's* estrangednesse  
from me, which I suspected could not be (for I ever loved them both)  
but true copies of your Graces displeasure.

I have opened to my truest friend all my former thoughts, and be-  
ing fully satisfied by his Highnesse how false they are in every parti-  
cular, do humbly crave your Graces pardon, that I gave a nights  
lodging to any of them all.

Although they never transported me a jott further, then to look  
about how to defend my self, being resolved (as God shall be my pro-  
tector) to suffer all the obloquie of the world, before I would be  
drawn to the least ingratitude against your Grace. All that I beg is  
an assurance of your Graces former Love, and I will plainly professe  
what I do not in the least beg or desire from your Grace.

1. No Patronage of any corrupt or unjust act which shall be ob-  
jected against me this Parliament.

2. No defence of me, if it shall appear I betrayed my King, or my  
Religion in favour of the Papist, or did them any real respect at all,  
besides ordinary complements.

3. No refuge in any of my causes, or clamours against me (which  
upon a false supposal of your Graces displeasure may be many)  
otherwise then according to justice, and fair proceeding.

And let this paper bear record against me at the great Parliament  
of all, if I be not in my heart, and soul, your Graces most faithful and  
constant poor friend and Servant.

His Highnesse desires your Grace to move his Majestie to accept  
of my Lord *Sayes* commission, and to procure me leave to send for  
him. Also to move his Majestie that my Lord of *Harsford* may be in  
the house, accepting his fathers place, and making his protestation



*The Heads of that Discourse which fell from Don Francisco*  
to sue for his Grandfathers, according to his Majesties Lawes, when  
the King shall give him leave. His Highnesse, and my Lords do hold  
this a modest and submissive Petition.

His Highnesse upon very deep reasons, doubts whether it be safe to  
put all upon the Parliament, for fear they should fall to examine par-  
ticular Dispatches, wherein they cannot but find many Contradicti-  
ons. And would have the proposition onely to ayd for the recovery  
of the Palatinate. To draw on an engagement I propound it might  
be, to advise his Majestie how this recovery shall be effected, by  
reconquering the same, or by a War of diversion. This will draw  
on a breach with Spain, without ripping up of private dispatches.  
His Highnesse seemed to like well hereof, and commanded me to ac-  
quaint your Grace therewith, and to receive your opinion. I humbly  
crave again two lines of assurance, that I am in your Grace's opinion  
as I will ever be indeed, &c.

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*The Heads of that Discourse which fell from Don Francisco,*

7. Die Aprilis, 1624. at 11. of the clock at  
night.

*This Relation was sent by the Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

**H**OW he came to procure his access to the King. The Marquesse  
putting *Don Carlos* upon the Prince and Duke in a discourse,  
thrust a Letter into the Kings hand, which he desired the King to read  
in private; The King said he would, thrust it into his pocket, and  
went on with his discourse, as if he had received none. The effect  
was, to procure private access for *Don Francisco* to come and speak  
with the King, which his Majestie appointed by my Lord of *Kelley*;  
and he by his secretie, who designed for *Don Francisco* time and  
place.

At his first access, he told the King, That his Majestie was a pri-  
soner, or at leastwise besieged, so as no man could be admitted to  
come at him. And then made a complaint against the Duke, that he  
aggravated, and pretended accusations against Spain; whereas its  
onely offence was, that they refused to give unto him equal honour,  
and observance, as they did unto his Highnesse. And that this was  
the only cause of his hatred against them.

At

At the last access, which was some 4. dayes ago, he made a long invective, and remonstrance unto the King, which he had put into writing in Spanish, which he read unto me, corrected with the hand of *Don Carlos*, which I do know. It was somewhat general, and very rhetorical, if not tragical for the stile. The heads of what I read were these, viz.

1. That the King was no more a freeman at this time, then King *John of France* when he was prisoner in England, or King *Francis* when he was at *Madrid*. Being besieged and closed up with the servants and vassals of *Buckingham*.

2. That the Embassadors knew very well, and were informed 4. moneths ago, that his Majestie was to be restrained, and confined to his Country house, and pastimes, and the Government of the State to be assumed and disposed of by others, and that this was not concealed by *Buckingham*s followers.

3. That the Duke had reconciled himself to all the popular men of the State, and drawn them forth out of prisons, restraints, and confinements to alter the Government of the State at this Parliament, as *Oxford*, *South-hampton*, *Sey*, and others, whom he met at Suppers and Ordinaries to strengthen his popularity.

4. That the Duke to breed an opinion of his own greatnesse, and to make the King grow lesse, hath oftentimes brag'd openly in Parliament, that he had made the King yield to this and that, which was pleasure unto them. And that he mentioned openly before the Houses his Majesties private oath, which the Embassadors have never spoken of to any creature to this hour.

5. That these Kingdomes are not now governed by a Monarch, but by a *Triumviri*, whereof *Buckingham* was the first and chiefest, the Prince the second, and the King the last; and that all look towards *Solem Orientem*.

6. That his Majestie should shew himself to be, as he was reputed, the oldest and wisest King in *Europe*, by freeing himself from this Captivity, and eminent danger wherein he was: by cutting off so dangerous and ungrateful an affecter of greatnesse and popularity, as the Duke was.

7. That he desired his Majestie to conceal this his free dealing with him, because it might breed him much peril and danger. And yet if it were any way available for his service, to reveal it to whom he pleased, because he was ready to sacrifice his life to do him acceptable service.

*His offer to the King for the restitution of the Palatinate.*

And this was the effect of so much of the penned speech as I remember was read unto me out of the Spanish Copy. His Majestie was much troubled in the time of this speech.

*His Offer to the King for the restitution of the Palatinate.*

**T**O have a Treaty for three moneths for the restitution, and that money was now given in Spain to satisfie *Bavaria*. That in the mean time because the people were so distrustful of the Spaniard, the King might fortifie himself at home, and assist the *Hollanders* with men or money at his pleasure. And the King of Spain should not be offended therewith.

*His opinion of our preparing of this Navie.*

**I**T was a design of the Duke, to go to the Ports of *Sevil*, and there to burn all the Ships in the Harbour, which he sought at.

*Speeches which he said fell from his Majestie concerning the Prince.*

1. **T**hat when he told the King, that his greatnesse with the Duke was such, as might hinder his Majestie from taking a course to repress him. His Majestie replied; He doubted nothing of the Prince, or his own power to sever them two, when he pleased.

2. His Majestie said, That when his Highnesse went to Spain, he was as well affected to that Nation as heart could desire, and as well disposed as any son in Europe; but now he was strangely carried away with rash, and youthful Councels, and followed the humour of *Buckingham*, who had he knew not how many Devils within him since that journey.

*Concerning the Duke.*

1. **T**hat he could not believe yet, that he affected popularity to his disadvantage. Because he had tryed him of purpose, and commanded him to make disaffecting motions to the houses, which he performed, whereby his Majestie concluded, he was not popular.

2. That

2. That he desired *Don Francisco*, and the Embassadors (and renewed this request unto them by *Padre Maestro* two dayes ago,) to get him any ground to charge him with popular courses, or to increase a suspicion of it, and he would quickly take a course with him.

3. That he had good cause to suspect the Duke of late, but he had no servant of his own, that would charge him with any particular; nor knew he any himself.

*The end (as was conceived) of Don Francisco's desiring  
this Conference.*

HE had heard that the Duke had pusht at me in Parliament, and intended to do so again, when he had done with the Treasurer, and therefore shewed, that if I would joyn to set upon him with the King, there was a fit occasion.

I answered, that the Prince and the Duke had preferred me into my place, and kept me in it, and if I found them pursuing I would not keep it an hour. That what favour soever I shewed the Embassador, or Catholiques, I did it for their sakes, and had thanks of them for it. And that I would deal by way of counsel with the Duke to be temperate, and moderate; but to be in opposition to my friend, and Patron, I knew he (being one that professed so much love unto me) would never expect from an honest man. Upon the which answer he seemed satisfied, and never replied word in that kind.

I made an end of writing these notes about two of the clock in the morning.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning Sir Richard Weston,*  
24. May. 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

I Hold it my duty to give your Grace a present account of this Patent made for Sir *Richard Weston*. Having put off the sealing of the same as fairly as I could (though not without the clamour of one *Lake*, a servant of Mr. *Chancelours*, who very saucily prest for Mr. *William* a dispatch,) this morning, Mr. *Chancelour* spake with me himself, to *Lake*, whom I made answer, That I would seal his Patent, according to his Majesties Warrant, but would retain it in my hands (as I was directed),



rected,) until I either spake with the King, or received his farther Command in that behalf. He told me he would write unto your Grace concerning the stay thereof, and the stand of the Kings businesse, until it were delivered, which course (I told him) was very faine. After I acquainted his Highnesse with my sealing and retaining of the Patent, and asked him, if he knew thereof. His Highnesse answered, he did know thereof, but gave no approbation of the course, and (although he durst not speak to crosse it) he hoped I should have directions from the King to pull off the Seals again. Three houres after I went to his Highnesse the second time, and asked him, if he meant really as he spake, or intended onely to make me believe so. I desired to know his mind, lest I might steer my course contrary to his intendment. His Highnesse answered, He meant really, and would endeavour to effectuate all that he spake. Which I thought very fitting for your Grace to know with all speed.

But for the man himself, I must deliver unto your Grace my conscience. For ought I ever saw in him he is a very honest, and a very sufficient man, and such a one, as I never in all my life could observe to be any way false, or unfaithful unto your Grace. He was brought in by your Grace fore against my will, (as your Grace may call to mind, what I said to your Grace at Woodstock to that effect) not that I disliked the Gentleman, but because I was afraid he would be wholly the Treasurers, who began then to out-top me, and appeared to my thoughts, likely enough by his daring and boldnesse, (two virtues very powerful and active upon our Royal Master,) in time to do as much to your Grace. From that time to this, I never observed in *Weston* any unworthinesse, or ingratitude to your Grace. Nay, craving pardon, I will proceed one step farther, I know no fitter man in England for the office, if he come in as a creature of the Prince, and your Grace's; nor unfitter, if he should offer to take it, without your likings. I think your Grace will remember, that this fortnight, this hath been my constant opinion.

Upon the death of one Mr. *Read*, the Secretaries place for the Latine tongue is void. The Dean of Winchester, and I moved the King for *Patrick Young*, the fittest man in England for that place. And the Prince did, and will second the motion. I beseech your Grace to assist us, or els the immodesty of his Competitor (that *Lake* I spake of in the beginning of this Letter) will bear down this most honest, and bashful creature.

God be thanked for your Graces recovery and still preserve it. And so &c.

*May it please your Grace,*

I humbly thank your Grace for your favourable and Gracious Remembrance, sent by my Neighbour Sir George Goring. Though I despaire to be able to make any other requital, yet will I never fail to serve your Grace most faithfully, and when I grow unuseful in that kind, to pray for you.

I beseech your Grace, that I may receive from the Prince's Highnesse, and your Grace, some directions how to demean my self to the French Embassador, in matters concerning Recusants, and that Mr. Secretary may either addresse himself to Mr. Atturney General in these causes, or else write unto me plainly what I am to do.

His last letter required of me, and the Judges (who neither are, nor will be in town these six weeks yet,) an account of this their supposed persecution, neither so much as intimating unto me what, or when I should return an answer, and supposeth some directions his Majestie should give me therein, the which (particularly, or dividedly from the Judges) I never received.

I adventured out of mine own head to write that answer, I imagine your Grace hath seen, whether I did well, or ill therein I know not, but conceived his Majestie expected some answer. Yesterday the Embassador sent unto me, to know if I had received any order from his Majestie to stay this (as he tearmed it) persecution. I assured him, there was no such matter in this state, and that as yet, I had received no order from his Majestie of late, but was in expectation to hear from the Court very shortly. I humbly crave your Graces directions, what I am to say, or do in the premises, being otherwise a meer stranger in all these proceedings. I write to no bodie herein besides your Grace, so as if I receive no direction, (which upon my head, and livelihood I shall burie in all secreesie) I shall be in a piti-ful perplexity, if his Majestie shall turn the Embassador upon me, altogether unprovided how to answer. And so with my hartiest prayers for your Graces health, I rest

yours, &c.

*The*

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. 21. July. 1624.**May it please your Grace,*

**I** Could not suffer Sir *George Goring* to depart without these few lines, although the greatest matter of their contents must be this, to expresse unto your Grace my sorrow, and affliction, that I have no matter or occasion at all, wherein to shew actuallie my affections and earnest desires to comply with my bounden duty in serving your Grace, and humbly to desire your Grace to believe, that there is no soul living shall do it more sincere-ly, and faithfully to the utmost of my understanding, then my self will do. I add this Caution the rather, because if ever I have offended your Grace, I take Almighty God to witnesse, it was onely forwant of a perfect understanding of those high matters, and the persons bent, whom they concerned, not out of any corruption of affections towards your Grace, or the least staggering in a continued resolution to live, and die, your Graces most constant, and most faithful servant.

This, God in heaven (who seeth what I now write,) and the King, and Prince upon earth, do perfectly know, and I (nothing doubt it) will acknowledg unto your Grace. And thus with my most humble thanks unto your Grace for that assurance I received, that I remain (though unmployed and unprofitably) yet in your Graces good affection, I beseech Almighty God to preserve your health, and to increase your favourday, by day with God, with the King, with the Prince, and with all good men. The daily vowes of &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the Countesse of South hampton 17. Novemb. 1624.**May it please your Grace,*

**I** Know how few arguments I need to use to perswade your Grace to works of Noblenesse, and charity. Your fashion hath been ever since my happinesse of dependance upon you, to outrun, and prevent all petitions in this kind. Yet pardon my boldnesse to be an humble suitor unto your Grace to go on, as I know you have already begun, in extending your Grace, and goodnesse towards the most distressed widdow, and children of my Lord of *South-hampton*. Your Grace cannot do any work of charity more approved of by God, more acceptable unto men, and that shall more recommend the  
memory

memory of your Noblenesse to future posterity. Sir *William Spencer* (the onely Solicitor this sorrowful Lady hath now to imploy,) will present some particulars unto your Grace, whom God ever preserve in all health, and happinesse. And so, &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 11. Octob. 1624.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**V**ith my most humble and hearty thanks for all your favours extended, and multiplyed daily towards me in sicknesse and health, which are such, and so many, that (although I trust in God I shall never prove so inhumane as to fail in any service, or faithfulness to your Grace,) I must for all that ever live, and die ungrateful. I thought fit to return unto your Grace this account of the message received by your Grace's Steward.

I spake with that Lord, and although he seemed to be quite off from the businesse, and had (to my knowledg) disposed of his money for a great, and a fair purchase here in *London*, and was resolved never to touch any more upon *Vass Steward*, (who had touched somewhat of his,) and with whom he had agreed for 4000 l. yet hearing the proposition to come so intirely from me, as proceeding immediately from your Grace, whose good favours this Lord (I protest unto your Grace) hath earnestly desired, and if at any time he hath straggled aside from the Prince's desires, and yours, it was merely and solely because he thought he was not so much relied upon as others of his rank. He promiseth me sometime to morrow a reasonable answer.

*His material Objections were these.*

1. **Q**uantity of the money; so as first and last he is out 16000 l. whereas *Cavendish* his Countryman and neighbour got up from a Gentleman, for 14000. l. I answered; That I observed your Grace never got by any of these bargains, but that in this compasse of a year or two, your favours exceed any gratuity presented.

2. Precedencie before *Vallingford*, and especially *Vane*. I did promise (for your service) to dispute the latter, but could say nothing to the former, because he was a Viscount, and his far-ancienter Baron.

3. Your Grace's favour, and reflection upon himself, (bred up in



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the experience of war and peace,) and upon his sons, all of them well bred, but most towards the War. I did answer generally, that upon his application of himself towards your Grace, I made little doubt, but he should receive good satisfaction in those expectancies.

4. Times of payment. I told him I knew he would demand but a convenient time therein, and that I knew your Grace would never stand upon.

If I have erred in any of these addressses, I pray let your Steward come, and reform me therein; as also to tell me, whether if I find him coming forward, I may not say unto him, That your Lordship upon a former motion of mine, was willing upon the next change of the Commission for the Council of the War, to adde him unto the number.

I propose this,

1. Because 'tis a new thing.
2. Because he desires some excuse unto the World, by reason of some future services, why his Majestie should receive him unto this honour. I have wearied my self, and by this time (which doth lesse become me) your Grace too. I beseech your Grace to pardon the blottings and extravagancies, my head being yet but meanly settled. I beseech God to blesse your Grace. And so, &c.

*Postscript.*

**M**ay it please your Grace, this Lord hath returned his answer, which in good faith seemeth to be with due respect unto your Grace.

1. That although the place was offered him for 4000 l. yet because the Offer proceeds from your Grace, (which he voweth to esteem as an especial favour as long as he liveth) he will pay to whom you shall assign 5000 l. and account it a real obligation of service to your Grace for ever, if you shall remit him the other thousand pound.

2. That for the time, with humble thanks for your noble favour (which becometh not him to take in appointing the time) he returns it to your Grace to nominate two daies of payment, as your Steward, or the person assigned shall think meet and fit for your Graces occasions, desiring some small respite for the former, but as little as the party please afterwards for the second payment: for his Lordship will send in for his moneys forthwith. And he will give his bonds, or (which I hold superfluous from so sure a Card) his Mortgage in present for both payments.

3. If

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3. If your Grace shall make him your servant with this favour so nobly condition'd, he hopes your Grace may proceed on with his Patent thus forward, without any stay for any other Corival, which notwithstanding he humbly refers.

4. But desires, if his presentment be accepted, he may have leave by me to render his thanks unto your Grace personally sometime to morrow.

And so I leave your Grace for this time in Gods protection, And rest

*Yours, &c.*

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. 24. Decem-  
ber, 1624.*

*My most Gracious Lord,*

I Most humbly beseech your Grace for Gods sake, and his Churches, to consider of this motion, which I do make unto your Grace, concerning the Deanerie of *York* now vacant, the Dean being struck dead suddenly, by a Letter, which one Dr. *Scot* procured from his Majestie, to be his Coadjutour.

It is not for any man in particular; but against Doctor *Scot*, that he may not by the importunity of any one upon your Grace be promoted to this place, being the sixth, or seventh place of preferment Ecclesiastical within this Kingdom, but that your Grace would be pleased to remove Doctor *White*, or Doctor *Hall*, or whom your Grace shall please, unto this great Deanery, and bestow the lesser Deanerie (far above his merit) upon him.

For these Reasons.

1. I know that he hath sold away all his Livings which he hath had in this Church, and hath at this day never an one.

2. I am credibly informed, he oweth 5000 l. at the least. A vast summe for a poor Scholar, and too much to be got up in a poor Church. And most of this money in *York*.

3. I know he is a great Gamester, and of no fitting conversation for a Church-man; but of very mean parts, either of Learning, or government.

4. I am certified at this time, that he is a man often overseen in drink; but this I do not know.

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If therefore your Grace shall be pleased, upon my Lord *Mordaunt's* importunity to procure him any Deanerie, I do not doubt but his Lordship will be satisfied, and that Church eternally obliged unto you for that Commutation. And I beseech your Grace to believe him, that is no way interested herein, that it concerns your Grace very much in credit, and reputation, that so mean a man (amongst such a choice as the Church of England doth afford,) be not by your favour preferred to so high a dignity. God be merciful to my sins, as I have no end herein but your Honour, and the good of that Church, and therefore I recommend no particular man unto your Grace, but do rest

Yours, &c.

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*The Lord-Keeper to the Duke, concerning Dr. Scott,*  
4. January, 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

I Humbly beseech you to interpret favourably, what I said unto his Majestie or his Highnesse, as intending to put off Dr. *Scott* from this place. And no way (God be my witnesse) to crosse your Grace, nor to hurt *Scott*, who might have been otherwaies sufficiently provided for.

But I should have written or spoken unto your Grace? so I did in this Letter enclosed, upon *Christmasse* Eve. But I confesse I durst not send it, for fear of offending your Grace, which I do take all possible diligence to avoid.

But, I spake unto the King, and Prince? I did so; but with this caution, (which I know they do remember,) that if your Grace would not upon the motion exchange *Scott* to some other preferment, I did not hold it fit to presse these charges against him, but would do my endeavour to still and quiet those of the Church of *York*, who (I confesse unto your Grace) are the men that have written against him.

But I recommended Dr. *White*, and another to the Prince, and Dr. *Warner* to your Grace: I confesse it, but must distinguish the times, and the manner. I commended Dr. *Warner*, when I was informed Dr. *White* had his answer, and denial, and that your Grace was off from Dr. *Scott*, and did desire to hear from me, what Doctor *Warner* was, whom I recommended onely in general terms upon the  
suit

suit of another. What I said of him, I believe, and know to be true, but he is so far from being any creature of mine, that I protest before the Almighty God, I never spake one word with the man to this very hour in all my life. I did conceive so meanly of Doctor *Scot*, that no worthy man in the Kingdom should have failed of my recommendations in this particular.

Now I know your Grace's resolution, I do alter my opinion, and humbly crave your Grace's pardon for my meddling therein, although I know his Highnesse will bear me witnesse, it was with all dutiful respect unto your Grace. I shall be very careful of giving your Grace the least cause of jealousie in this kind again. And whereas I had put a poor suit in your Grace's hands about the helping of my poor fortunes, I will let that, and all others fall, and desire onely to be accounted

Yours, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 2. March, 1624.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**His heavy, and unexpected accident of my Lord Stewards death, makes me to be troublesome unto your Grace at this time. In safety and discretion, I might very easily spare this labour: but my obligation to your Grace is such, as if that I conceal any thing, which but my self apprehends fit to be represented to your Grace, whilst I affect the title of a reserved, close, and wise, I may lose the other of an honest man, which I more esteem.

Thus much by way of preface.

I represent this office of a Lord Steward, as a place to be either accepted of by your self, or else to be discontinued (as for many years towards the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth*, and the beginning of our Masters reign it was) and in any case, not to be placed upon another, without the deliberation of some few years at the least. Being an office, that none but the Kings Kinsmen, or Favorites, or Counter-favourites (raised up of purpose to ballance the great one) have anciently possessed: I could desire your Grace had it in your own person; for these Reasons.

1. It is an office of fair, and very competent gettings, but that is scarce considerable.

2. It keeps you in all changes and alterations of years near the King.



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King, and gives unto you all the opportunities, and accesses, without the envie of a favorite. I beseech your Grace pause well upon this, and call to mind, if the *Duke of Richmond* was not in this case.

3. It Gives you opportunities to gratifie all the Court, great and small, *Virtute Officii* in right of your place. Which is a thing better accepted of, and interpreted, then a courtesie from a favorite. Because in this you are a dispenser of your own; but in the other (say many envious men,) of the Kings goodnesse, which would flow fast enough of it self, but that it is restrained to this Pipe and channel onely.

4. There must be one day an end of this attendance as a Bed-chamber man, but I hope never of being next unto the King, as a great Counciller, and officer, and above all others, which you cannot be, but by this office. The Master of the horse is but a Knights place at the most, and the Admirals (in time of action) either to be employed abroad Personallie, or to live at home in that ignominie, and shame, as your Grace will never endure to do so.

I will trouble your Grace with a tale of *Dante* the first Italian Poet of note. Who being a great, and wealthie man in *Florence*, and his opinion demanded, who should be sent Embassador to the Pope, made this answer, that he knew not who *Si jo vo chista, Si jo sto chi va.* If I go, I know not who shall stay at home; if I stay, I know not who can perform this employment. Yet your Grace staying at home in favour, and greatnesse with his Majestie, may by your designs and directions so dispose of the Admiral, as to enjoy the glory, without running the hazard of his personal employment. My Gracious Lord, if any man shall put you in hope, that the Admiralty will fill your Coffers, and make you rich, call upon them to name one Admiral that ever was so. As in time of hostility there is some getting, so are there hungry and insatiable people presently to devour the same. God made man to live upon the land, and necessity onely drives him to Sea. Yet is not my advice absolutely for your relinquishing of this, but in any case for the retaining of the other place though with the losse of the Admiraltie.

5. I beseech your Grace observe the Earl of *Leicester*, (who being the onely favorite in *Queen Elizabeths* time, that was of any continuance) made choice of this place onely, and refused the Admiralty two severall times, as being an occasion, either to withdraw him from the Court, or to leave him there, laden with ignominie. And yet being Lord Steward, wise, and in favour, he wholly commanded the Admiralty, and made it ministerial, and subordinate to his directions.

6. Remember,

6. Remember, that this office is fit for a young, a middle, and an old man to enjoy, and so is not any other that I know about his Majesty. Now God almighty having given you favour at the first, and since a great quantity (I never flattered your Grace, nor do now) of wit, and wise experience, I would humbly recommend unto your Grace this opportunity to be neereſt unto the King in your young, your middle, and your decreaſing age, that is to be on earth, as your piety will one day make you in heaven, an everlaſting favorite. There are many objections, which your Grace may make, but if I find any inclination in your Grace to lay hold upon this propoſition, I dare undertake to answer them all. Your Grace may leave any office you please (if your Grace be more in love with the Admiralty, then I think you have cause,) to avoid envie. But my final conclusion is this, to desire your Grace most humbly to put no other Lord into this office, without just, and mature deliberation. And to pardon this boldness, and haste, which makes me to write so weakly in a theme, that I perswade my self I could maintaine very valiantly; I have no other copie of this Letter, and I pray God your Grace be able to read this. I send your Grace a Letter delivered unto me from *Conde Gondomar*, and dated either at *Madrid*, or (as I observe it was written first,) at London. There is no great matter at whither of the places it was invented. I humbly beseech your Grace to send by this bearer the resolution for the Parliament. And do rest

Yours &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about Sr. Robert Howard.*

11 March 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

Sir *Robert Howard* appeared yesterday, and continues obstinate in this refusal to swear. When we came to examin the commission for our power to fine him for this obstinacie, we found that Sir *Edward Cook*, (foreseeing out of a propheticall, how near it might concern a Grandchild of his own day) hath expunged this clause (by the help of the *Earle of Salisbury*,) out of the commission, and left us nothing but the rustie sword of the church, excommunication, to vindicate the authority of this Court. We have given him day until Saturday next, either to conform, or to be excommunicated. She hath answered

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answered wittilie, and cunningly, but yet sufficient for the Conifance of the Court. Confesseth a fame of incontinenzie against her, and *Howard*, but sayeth it was raised by her Husbands kindred. I do not doubt but the businesse will go on well, but (peradventure) more slowly, if *Howard* continue refractory, for want of this power to fine, and amerce him. I beseech your Grace, either to procure me the favour to come, or to excuse my not seeing his Majestie in this time of his indisposition, which I hear still continueth. I beseech Almighty God (as in eternal duty I am bound) presently to ease him, and restore him to his perfect health. Mr. *Packers* being away makes me unmannerly. I am humbly to desire your Grace to be pleased to move his Majestie (at your first opportunity) to sign this Commission, for the proroguing of the Parliament, and to read unto his Majestie this paper of names here inclosed, (which his Majestie is not to sign,) knowing his pleasure, whether he alloweth of them for Commissioners for the last subside of the Lords. I have added to the former the Earl of *Montgomerie* according to your Graces direction, whom God almighty ever preserve. It is the prayer of &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke 13. March. 1624.*

*May it please your Grace,*

FOR your Brothers businesse, this is all I have to acquaint your Grace with. Sir *Robert Howard* appeared yesterday at Lambeth, pretended want of Councel, (the Doctors being out of town) desired respite until to morrow, and had it granted by my Lords Grace. Most men think he will not take his oath at all; I do incline to the contrary opinion, because (to my knowledge) he hath sent far, and near for the most able Doctors in the Kingdom to be feed for him, which were great follie if he intended not to answer. He is extremely commended for his closenesse and secrecie by the major part of our auditors, (the Hee and Shee good fellowes of the town,) and though he refuseth to be a Confessor, yet is sure to die a Martyr, and most of the Ladies in town will offer at his shryne. The Lady *Harrison* some nine dayes since, was at Stoke, with the good Knight her Husband for some counsel in this particular. But he refused to meddle therewithal, and dismist her Ladiship, when she had stayed with him very lovingly half a quarter of an hour.

The cause of my troubling your Grace is this. The French Embassador

bassadour is fired with some complaints of our Recusants; who (I verily believe) work upon him purposely, finding him to be of a combustible disposition. To morrow he is resolved to come upon you, and our Master with Complaints, for lack of performances to the Papists. And because I would furnish your Grace with as much answer, as I am acquainted with, (nothing doubting but your Grace is otherwaies better provided,) I make bold to present your Grace with these particulars.

1. With a Letter from my Lord Archbishop of York in answer to another of mine; which shews how really his Majesties promise hath been in that kind performed. I beseech your Grace to keep it safe in your pocket, until I shall have the honour to wait upon your Grace, when you have made use of the same.

2. If your Grace shall hear him complain of the Judges in their charges, and of their receiving of Indictments; your Grace may answer, That those charges are but orations of Course, opening all the penal Lawes, and the Indictments being presented by the Country, cannot be refused by the Judges. But the Judges are ordered to execute nothing actually against the Recusants, nor will they do it, during the negotiation.

3. Your Grace may put him in mind, that my Lord Keeper doth every day, when his, (the Lord Embassadours) Secretary calls upon him, grant forth Writs to remove all the persons indicted in the Country into the Kings Bench, out of the power and reaches of the Justices of the Peace. And that being there, the King may, and doth release them at his pleasure.

4. That the Spanish Embassadour never had, nor desired more then these favours.

5. That you are informed, that Copies of Letters written from the King to both the Archbishops are spread abroad in *Staffordshire*, to his Majesties disadvantage (for so it is) and that thereby my Lord Embassadour may perceive the bent of the English Catholiques, which is not to procure ease and quietnesse to themselves, but Scandals to their neighbouring Protestants, and discontentments against the King and State.

I humbly crave your Graces pardon for this boldnesse, and tediousnesse, and with my hearty prayers for your health, do rest

yours, &c.



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 22. March, 1624.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Send your Grace here inclosed, the Kings Commission, and the Prince's Proxie, not fairly written, (which the Embassadors upon the place may procure in a fresh hand,) but yet legibly, and passably. The Prince's Proxie refers the manner unto the articles, and particularly to the second, third, and fourth Section of those Articles; which gives me occasion to begg of your Grace pardon, to desire your Grace to think seriously upon the third Section, to advise with the Prince, and to give Mr. *Packer* charge to inform your Grace punctually what he knoweth, and may inform himself concerning those particulars. That is, How the Queen *Margaret* of France was married to *Henry* the fourth, and how Madam his sister was married to the Prince of *Lorrain*. For although they are both made alike in the article, yet surely they were not married after the same fashion. For the Dutchesse of *Barr* was married in a closter, without a Masse, by words onely of the Present tense, as I believe, I have read in the Historie of *Thuanus*. A favour, which will hardly be granted to your Grace. And how Queen *Margaret* was married, my Lords the Embassadors will soon learn, if your Grace will be pleased to write unto them.

I hold it (in a manner) necessary, that your Grace do carrie over with you in your company one Civilian to put your Grace in mind of the formalities required; and if your Grace be of that mind, your own Doctor, Dr. *Reeves* is as fit as any man else, who is a good Scholar, and speaks that language. Your Grace hath revived my Lord of *Clare*, sithence I spake with your Grace. And I beseech your Grace to follow that resolution, and to let Mr. *Packer* draw up a warrant of 3. or 4. lines signed by the King to me to place him with the rest of the Councel of War. It will be an occasion to take up more of that time, which he now spends with the Lady *Hatton*. For now I am resolved, that I was of the right in my conjecture to your Grace, that his Lordship had utterly refused my Lady *Purbeck's* cause (of the which the very common peopple begin to be ashamed) but is deeply ingaged against my Lady of *Richmond*, in the businesse of that famous (or rather notorious) fœminine Contract, and bargain, of sixteen hundred pounds by the year for a house to sleep in.

When your Grace shall draw up your Instructions, you will be pleased to use the words, To Contract, Espouse and marrie Our Welbeloved Son, &c. because they do in those parts contract alwaies before.

Dutchesse  
of Rich-  
mond.

before marriage. And your Grace will be pleased to expresse his Majesties pleasure, that this is to be done by your self, and no other: Because although the two Earls upon the place, have some such general words in their Commission, yet your Grace only is named in the Prince's Proxie, and now solely imployed by the King to that purpose. Although I conceived this restraint to be fitter a great deal for the instructions, then the Commission.

I am extream sorry to hear what a grievous fit his Majestie had this last night. But I hope it is a farewell of the Agues, and I pray God it be the last fit. And now am an humble suitor again, that I may come and look upon his Majestie, resolved to say nothing, but that which I will never cease to say, God blesse him. If your Grace holds it inconvenient, I beseech your Grace to excuse me, and to account me as I will ever be found,

Yours, &c.

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*The Bishop of Lincoln to the Duke, 7<sup>th</sup>. of  
January, 1625.*

*Most Gracious Lord,*

**B**Eing come hither, according unto the dutie of my place, to do my best service for the preparation to the Coronation, and to wait upon his Majestie for his Royal pleasure and direction therein; I do most humbly beseech your Grace, to crown so many of your Grace's former favours, and to revive a Creature of your own, struck dead onely with your displeasure, (but no other discontentment in the universal world,) by bringing of me to kisse his Majesties hand, with whom I took leave, in no disfavour at all. I was never hitherto brought into the presence of a King, by any Saint, besides your self: Turn me not over (most noble Lord) to offer my prayers at new Altars. If I were guiltie of any unworthy unfaithfulnesse for the time past, or not guiltie of a resolution to do your Grace all service for the time to come, all considerations under Heaven could not force me to beg it so earnestly, or to professe my self, as I do before God, and you,

Your Grace's most humble, affectionate,  
and devoted servant,

*To, Lincoln.*

*The Bishop of Lincoln to his Majestie.*

*Most Mighty, and dread Sovereign,*

**I** Have now these four moneths, by the strength of those gracious speeches your Majestie used, (when I took my leave of your Majestie at *Salisbury*;) and the conscience of mine own innocencie from having ever wilfully or maliciously offended your Majestie, comforted my self in these great afflictions; to be thus injoynd from your Majesties presence (the onely heaven wherein my soul delighted,) having submitted my self (I hope dutifully, and patiently) to the discharge from that great Office (for the execution whereof I was altogether unworthy;) My required absence from the Councel Table; my sequestration from attending your Majesties Coronation: And your Majesties favourable pleasure (for so I do esteem that,) to spare my presence at this next Parliament. And I trust in God I shall most readily obey any other Command, that bears the image and superscription of your Majestie, without any desire of searching after the hand that helps to presse and ingrave it. Yet because I suffer in some more particulars then peradventure is explicite known to your Majestie: And that I have no friend left about your Majestie, that dares for fear of displeasure relate unto your Majestie my griefs, and necessities, I humbly crave your gracious Pardon to make some two representations, and some few Petitions unto your most excellent Majestie.

First, I humbly shew unto your Majestie, that besides my former Calamities, I am not paid that part of my Pension, which should pay the Creditors, who lent me money to buy the same; notwithstanding your Majestie hath been graciously pleased to order otherwise.

Secondly, I have not yet received my Writ of Summons unto the Parliament (denied to no Prisoners, or condemned Peers in the late reign of your blessed-Father,) that I might accordingly make my Proxie, the which I cannot do, the Writ not received; nor can I my self go into the Countrie, as I had done long ere this, had not the expectation of this Writ, together with the special service of my Lord Duke, and no other occasion whatsoever detained me.

These two particulars I present with all submission unto your Majestie, and shall rest satisfied with what royal resolution your Majestie shall make therein.

These petitions that follow I must earnestly beg at your Majesties hands,

hands, and for Gods sake, and your blessed Fathers sake, whose Creature, and most painful servant I was.

First, that your Majestie would be pleased to mitigate, and allay the causelesse displeasure of my Lord Duke against me; who is so little satisfied with any thing I can do, or suffer, that I have no means left to appease his anger, but my prayers to God, and your Sacred Majestie.

Secondly, I beseech your Majestie for Christ Jesus sake not to believe newes, or accusations against me concerning my carriage past, present, or to come, whilst I stand thus enjoined from your Royal presence, before you shall have heard my answer, and defence unto the particulars. Those that inform your Majestie may (God he knoweth) be oftentimes mis-informed.

My last supplication unto your Majestie is, That in my absence this Parliament, no use may be made of your sacred name to wound the reputation of a poor Bishop, who besides his Religion and Dutie to that Divine Character you now bear, hath ever affectionately honoured your very Person above all the objects in this world, as he desires the salvation of the world to come. But I crave no protection against any other accuser, or accusation whatsoever. So shall I never cease to pray to the Almighty God to make your Majestie the Happiest and Greatest King, that ever was Crowned, and Anointed: which shall be the continual orisons of

Your Majesties most dutiful and  
most humble Vassal,

*To. Lincoln.*

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*The Lord Keeper to the Lord Viscount Anan.*

17. Septemb. 1622.

*Right Honourable,*

**I** Owe more service to that true love, and former acquaintance; which your Lordship hath been pleased to afford me, now these full ten yeares, then to be sparing, or reserved in satisfying your Lordship about any doubt whatsoever, the resolution whereof shall lie in my power. Concerning that offence, taken by many people; both on this side the borders and in Scotland, from that Clemencie which



*The Lord Keeper to the Lord Viscount Anan.*

which his Majestie was pleased to extend to the imprisoned Lay-Recusants of this Kingdom, and my Letter written unto the Justices for the reigling of the same, which your Lordship did intimate unto me yesterday at Mr. *Henry Gibbs* his house, out of some newes received from a Peer of Scotland. This is the plainest return I can make unto your Lordship. In the general, as the Sun in the firmament appears unto us no bigger then a Platter, and the Stars but as so many nails in the pummel of a saddle, because of the Elongement and disproportion between our eyes, and the object; so is there such an unmeasurable distance betwixt the deep resolution of a Prince, and the shallow apprehension of common and ordinary people, that as they will be ever judging and censuring, so must they be obnoxious to error and mistaking.

Particularly, for as much as concerns my self, I must leave my former life, my profession, my continuall preaching, my writing, (which is instant in the hands of many,) my private indeavours about some great persons, and the whole bent of my actions, (which in the place I live in cannot be concealed, to testifie unto the world, what favour I am likely to importune for the Papists in their religion. For the King my Master, I will tell you a storie out of *Velleius Paterculus*. A Surveyor bragging to M. *Livius Drusus*, that he would so contrive his house *Ut Libera à conspectu immunis ab omnibus arbitris esset*, that it should stand removed out of sight, and be past all danger of peeping, or Eves-dropping; was answered again by *Drusus*, *Tu vero, si quid in te artis est ita compone domum mean, ut quicquid agam ab omnibus Conspici possit*. Nay my good friend, if you have any devices in your head, contrive my house after such a manner, that all the world may see what I do therein. So if I should endeavour to flourish up some artificial Vault, to hide and conceal the intentions of his Majestie, I know I should receive the same thanks, that the Surveyor did from *Drusus*. I was not called to Councel by his royal Majestie, when the resolution of this Clemencie to the Lay-Recusants was first concluded: But if I had been asked my opinion, I should have advised it without the least hesitation. His Majestie was so Popishly addicted at this time, that (to the incredible exhaustments of this Treasure) he was a most zealous, interceder for some ease and refreshment to all the Protestants in Europe, his own Dominions, and Denmarkes onely excepted.

Those of *Switzerland* (having lately provoked the *Pole*) had no other hope of peace; those of France of the exercise of their Religion; those of the Palatinate, and adjoyning Countries of the least connivencie

connivencie to say their prayers, then by the earnest mediation of our gracious Master. And advised by the late Assembly of Parliament to insist a while longer in this milkie way of intercession, and Treatie. What a preposterous argument would this have been to desire those mighty Princes (armed, and victorious) to grant some liberty, and clemencie to the Protestants, because himself did now imprison, and execute the rigour of his lawes against the Roman Catholiques. I must deal plainely with your Lordship. Our viperous countrymen the English Jesuits in France to frustrate these Pious endeavours of his Majesties, had many months before this favour granted, retorted that argument upon us, by writing a most malicious book (which I have seen, and read over) to the French King, inciting him, and the three Estates, to put all those statutes in execution against the Protestants in those parts, which are here enacted, and (as they falsely informed) severally executed upon the Papists. I would therefore see the most subtile State-monger in the world chalk out a way for his Majestie to mediate for Grace, and favour for the Protestants, by executing at this time the severity of the Lawes upon the Papists. And that this favour should mount to a Toleration, is a most dull, (and yet a most divelish) misconstruction.

A Toleration looks forward, to the time to come: This favour backward onely, to the offences past. If any Papist now set at liberty shall offend the lawes again, the Justices may, (nay must) recommit him, and leave favour and mercy to the King, to whom onely it properly belongeth. Nay let those 2. writs directed to the Judges, be as diligently perused by those rash Censures as they were by those grave, and learned, to whom his Majestie referred the penning of the, same and they shall find, that these Papists are no other-otherwise out of prison, then with their shackles about their heels, sufficient sureties, and good recognisances to present themselves again at the next assises. As therefore that Lacedemonian posed the Oracle of *Apollo*, by asking his opinion of the bird which he grasped in his hand, whether he were alive, or dead, so it is a matter yet controverted, and undecided, whether those Papists (closed up, and grasped in the hands of the law) be still in prison, or at libertie. Their own demeanours, and the successe of his Majesties negotiations, are Oracles that must decide the same. If the Lay-papists do wax insolent with this mercy, insulting upon the Protestants, and translating this favour from the person to the cause, I am verily of opinion his Majestie will reman d them to their former state, and condition, and renew his writ no more. But if they shall use these  
graces,

*The Lord Keeper to the Lord Viscount Anan.*

graces modestly, by admitting Conference with learned Preachers, demeaning themselves neighbourly and peaceably, praying for his Majestie, and the prosperous successe of his pious endeavours, and relieving him bountifully (which they are as well able to do as any of his Subjects,) if he shall be forced and constrained to take his sword in hand, then it cannot be denied, but our Master is a Prince, that hath (as one said) *plus humanitatis penè quam hominis*, and will at that time leave to be merciful, when he leaves to be himself. In the mean while, this argument fetcht from the Devils topicks, which concludes a *Concrete ad abstractum* from a favour done to the English Papists, that the King favoureth the Romish Religion is such a composition of follie, and malice, as is little deserved by that gracious Prince, who by word, writing, exercise of Religion, acts of Parliament, late directions for catechizing, and preaching, and all professions, and endeavours in the world hath demonstrated himself so resolved a Protestant. God by his holy Spirit open the eyes of the people, that these aerie representations of ungrounded fancies set aside, they may clearly discern, and see how by the goodnesse of God, and the wisdom of their King, this Island of all the Countries in Europe is the sole nest of peace and true Religion, and the inhabitants thereof unhappie onely in this one thing, that they never look up to heaven to give God thanks for so great a happinesse.

Lastly, for mine own Letter to the Judges, (which did onely declare, nor operate the favour,) it was either much mis-penned, or much misconstrued. It recited four kinds of recusancies onely capable of his Majesties clemencie not so much to include these, as to exclude many other crimes bearing amongst the Papists the name of Recusancies, as using the function of a Romish Priest, seducing the Kings liege people from the Religion established, scandalizing and aspersing our King, Church, State, or present Government. All which offences (being outward practises, and no secret motions of the conscience,) are adjudged by the Lawes of England to be merely civil, and political, and excluded by my Letter from the benefit of those Writs, which the bearer was employed to deliver unto the Judges.

And thus I have given your Lordship a plain account of the carriage of this businesse, and that the more suddenly, that your Lordship might perceive it is not *Aurea Fabula*, or prepared tale, but a bare Narration, which I have sent unto your Lordship. I beseech your Lordship to let his Majestie know, that the Letters to the Justices of Peace concerning those four heads recommended by his Majestie, shall

*The Bishop of Menevensis to the Duke.*

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shall be sent away as fast as they can be exscribed: I will trouble your Lordship no more at this time, but shall rest ever

Your Lordships servant and  
true friend,

*Jo. Lincoln. C. S.*

*The Bishop of Menevensis to the Duke: Dr. Laud.*

*My most Gracious Lord,*

I May not be absent, and not write. And since your Grace is pleased with the trouble, I must professe my self much content with the performance of the dutie. I am not unmindful of the last businesse your Grace committed to me, but I have as yet done the lesse in it, because I fell into a relaps of my infirmitie, but I thank God I am once more free, if I can look better to my self, as I hope I shall.

My Lord, I must become an humble suitor to your Grace. I hear by good hand that my Lord of *Canterbury* intends shortly to renew the High Commission. Now I am to acquaint your Grace, that there is never a Bishop that lives about *London* left out of the Commission but my self, and many that live quite absent are in, and many inferiours to Bishops. The Commission is a place of great experience for any man, that is a Governour in the Church. And since by his Majesties gracious goodnesse, and your Grace's sole procurement, I am made a Governour, I would be loath to be excluded from that which might give me experience, and so enable me to perform my dutie. I am sure my Lord of *Canterbury* will leave me out, as hitherto he hath done, if his Majestie be not pleased to Command that I shall be in. This I submit to your Grace, but humbly desire even against my own ease and quiet, that I may not be deprived of that experience which is necessary for my place. I most humbly beseech your Grace to pardon this boldnesse, and to know, that in my daily prayers for your Grace's happiness, I shall ever rest

Your Grace's most devoted and  
affectionate servant,

*Novemb. 18. 1624.*

*Guil. Menevensis*

*The*



*The Lord Keeper to the Lord Viscount Anan.*

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Your Grace's most devoted and  
affectionate servant,

*Novemb. 18. 1624.*

*Amib. Menevensis*

*The*

*The Bishop of Menevensis to the Duke:*  
Dr. Laud.

*My most Gracious Lord,*

I Am heartily glad to hear your Lordship is so well returned, and so happily as to meet so great joy. God hath among many others his great blessings (and I know your Grace so esteems them) sent you now this extraordinarie one, a son to inherit his fathers honour, and the rest of Gods blessings upon both. So soon as I came to any end of my journey, I met the happie news of Gods blessing upon your Grace, and it seasoned all the hard journey I have had out of *Wales* through the Snow. When I had rested my self a little at my friend's house in the Forrest (*Mr. Windbank* a servant of your Grace's, whom I made bold to make known to your Honour) I came to *Windsor* in hope to have been so happy, as to meet your Grace at the great solemnitie: but when I came, I found that which I suspected, that your Grace's greater joy would carrie you farther. Which journey, and the cause, and the end of it, I heartily wish, and pray may be full of joy, and all contentment to your Grace. I made bold to trouble your Grace with a Letter or two out of *Wales*, which I hope *Mr. Windbank* took the best care he could to see delivered. I have no means to do your Grace any service, but by my prayers, and they do daily attend, and shall ever, while I breathe to utter them. I hope though I have missed this opportunitie, yet I shall be so happy as to see, and wait upon your Grace at *London*. In the mean time, and ever, I leave your Grace, and all your home-blessings to the protection of the Almighty, and shall ever be found

*Windsor, 13. Decemb. 1625.*

Your Graces most devoted and affectionate servant,

*Gaill. Menev.*

*Doflor Mountague Bishop of Chichester to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

Y Our Highnesse vouchsafed at *Windsor* to let me understand, that his Majestie my gracious Master and Sovereign had taken me off from that trouble and vexation, which by some mens procurement, I

was.

was put unto in the House of Commons. They as I understand, think not so, but intend to proceed against me so far as they can, as having returned his Majestie no other answer, but that I was freed from imprisonment. It is true, that besides 20 l. which the Sergeant had of me by exaction for fees, they bound me unto him in a bond of 2000 l. to appear before them, the first day of the next Sessions. I beseech your Grace, that as you have been pleased to tie me unto your excellent not onely self, but also most honourable Sister in that bond of obligation, as never was poor Scholar to such Worthies; so you would be pleased to let his Majestie understand the case, that by your means I may be absolutely discharged, with the redeliverie of my bond from them, whom I never offended, who (under correction) have nothing to do with me; and as his Majesties servant be left unto himself, especially for that which was authorized by himself, and commanded by his Father, my late Master of ever blessed memorie. If his Majestie will be pleased to call for their accusations against me, if I do not really and shorougly answer whatsoever is, or can be imputed to me out of my books, I will no further desire favour and protection of his Majestie, and your Gracious self, but be willingly left unto my enemies. I must crave pardon for presuming thus to trouble your Grace, the rather because through a grievous affliction of the Collick and Stone, I am not able personally to attend your Grace, whom according unto my most bounden dutie, I daily recommend unto the Almighty, being more obliged unto your noble self, then ever to any one. So remaining

Most humbly at your Graces  
service ever,

*Petworth, 29. July.*

*Ri. Mountague.*

1. IF any or all the Papists living can prove, that the Roman Church, as it now stands in opposition to the Church of England, is either the Catholique Church of Christ, or a sound member of the Catholique Church,

I will subscribe.

2. If any or all the Papists living can prove unto me, that the Church of England as it standeth at this day, is not a true member of the Catholique Church,

I will subscribe.



*The Bishops of Rochester, Oxford, &c. to the Duke.*

3. If any or all the Papists living can prove unto me, that any one point at this day maintained by the Church of *Rome* against the Church of *England*, was the received Doctrine of the Catholique Church, or concluded by any general Councel, or particular approved Councel, or resolved of by any one Father of Credit to be such, for 500. years at least after Christ,

I will subscribe

*Ri. Mountague.*

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*The Bishops of Rochester, Oxford, and St. Davids,  
to the Duke, concerning Mr. Mountague.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**W**EE are bold to be suitors to you in the behalf of the Church of England, and a poor member of it Mr. *Mountague*, at this time not a little distressed. We are not strangers to his person, but it is the Cause which we are bound to be tender of.

The cause we conceive (under correction of better judgment) concerns the Church of England merely; for that Church when it was reformed from the superstitious opinions broached, or maintained by the Church of *Rome*, refused the apparant and dangerous errors, and would not be too busie with every particular School point. The cause why she held this moderation was, because she could not be able to preserve any unitie amongst Christians, if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars disputed in Schooles.

Now may it please your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late Book of Mr. *Mountague*, are some of them such, as are expressly, the resolved doctrine of the Church of England, and those he is bound to maintain. Some of them such as are fit onely for Schooles, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, so they keep themselves peaceable, and distract not the Church. And therefore to make any man subscribe to Schoole opinions, may justly seeme hard in the Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the Councel of *Trent*. And to affright them from those opinions in which they have (as they are bound) subscribed to the Church, as it is worse in it self, so it may be the Mother of greater danger.

*May*

May it please your Grace farther to consider, that when the Clergie submitted themselves in the time of Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>. the submission was so, that if any difference doctrinal, or other fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be Judges of it in a national Synode, or Convocation, The King first giving leave under his broad Seale, to handle the points in difference.

But the Church never submitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can Shee, though Shee would. And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, and then to move his most Gracious Majestie (if you shall think fit) what dangerous Consequences may follow upon it. For first, if any other Judge be allowed in matter of Doctrine, we shall depart from the ordinance of Christ, and the continual course and practise of the Church.

a. Secondly, if the Church, be once brought down beneath her self, we cannot but fear what may be next Struck at.

3. Thirdly, it will some way touch the honour of his majesties dear Father, and our most dread Sovereign of Glorious, and ever blessed memorie, King *James*, who saw and approved all the opinions in this Book, and he in his rare wisdom and judgment would never have allowed them, if they had Crossed with truth and the Church of England.

4. Fourthly, we must be bold to say, that we cannot conceive what use there can be of Civil Government in the common Wealth, or of preaching, and external ministrie in the Church, if such fatall opinions as some which are opposite, and contrarie to these delivered by Mr. *Mountague* are, shall be Publiquely taught and maintained.

5. Fifthly, we are certain, that all or most of the contrarie opinions were treated of at *Lambeth*, and ready to be published, but then Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memorie, upon notice given, how little they agreed with the Practice of pietie, and obedience to all Government, caused them to be suppressed, and so they have continued ever since, till of late some of them have received countenance at the Synod of *Dort*. Now this was a Synod of that nation, and can be of no authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by Publique authority. And our hope is that the Church of England will be well advised, and more then once over, before Shee admit a forraign Synod, especiaillie of such a Church as condemneth her discipline and manner of Government, to say no more.

And further we are bold to commend to your Graces wisdom this one particular. His Majestie (as we have been informed) hath already taken this businesse into his own care, and most worthily referred:

*The Bishop of Landaffe, &c. to the Duke.*

ferred it in a right course to Church-consideration. And we well hoped, that without further trouble to the state, or breach of unity in the Church it might so have been well, and orderly composed, as we still pray it may. These things considered we have little to say for Mr. *Montaignes* person: onely thus much we know. He is a very good Scholler and a right honest man. A man every way able to do God, his Majestie, and the Church of England great service. We fear he may receive great discouragement, and which is far worse, we have some cause to doubt this may bred a great backwardnesse in able men to write in the defence of the Church of England against either home, or forraign adversaries, if they shall see him sink in fortunes reputation, or health upon his book occasion.

And t his we most humbly submit to your Graces judgment, and care of the Churches peace, and welfare. So recommending your Grace to the protection of Almighty God,

We shall ever rest At your Graces service

2. August 1625.

*To. Roffeus.*

*To. Oxon.*

*Guil Meneven.*

*Doctor Field Bishop of Landaffe to the Duke.*

*My Gracions Good Lord,*

**I**N the great Library of men, that I have studied these many yeares, your Grace is the best Book, and most Classick authour that I have read, in whom I find so much goodnesse, sweetnesse, and noblenesse of nature, such an Heroick spirit, for boundlesse bounty as I never did in any. I could instance in many, some of whom you have made Deanes, some Bishops, some Lords, and Privy Councillours. None that ever looked toward your Grace did ever go empty away I need go no farther then my self (a gum of the Earth) whom some 8. years ago you raised out of the dust, for raising but a thought so high as to serve your Highnesse. Since that, I have not played the Truant, but more diligently studied you then ever before. And yet (Dunce that I am) I stand at a stay, and am a *Non-proficient*, the book being the same that ever it was, as may appear by the great proficiencie of others. This wonderfully poseth me, and sure there is some guile,

guile, some wile in some of my fellow Students, who hide my book from me, or some part of it. All the fault is not in mine own blockishnesse, that I thrive no better. I once feared this before, that some did me ill offices. Your Grace was pleased to protest no man had, and to assure me no man could. My heart tells me, it hath been alwaies upright, and is still most faithful unto you. I have examined my actions, my words, and my very thoughts, and found all of them ever since most sound unto your Grace. Give me leave after so long Patience (for which vertue you were once pleased to commend me to my old Master King *games*, and I have not yet lost it) now that for these 12 Months almost, I have been not onely upon the Stage, but upon the rack of expectations, even distracted between hope and fear, to comfort my self with recordation of your Loving kindnesse of old, when on that great feast day of your being inaugur'd our Chancellour, my look was your booke, wherein you read sadnesse, to which I was bold to answer, I trusted your Grace would give me no cause. You replyed with (losse of blood rather,) that was your noble expression. But God forbid so precious an effusion. (I would emptie all my veins rather then you should bleed one drop) when as one blast of your breath is able to bring me to the heaven where I would be. My Lord I am grown an old man and am like old Househouldstufte, apt to be broke upon often removing. I desire it therefore but once for all, be it Eli, or Bathe and Wells, and I will spend the remainder of my dayes in writing an History of your good deeds to me and others, whereby I may vindicate you from the envie, and obloquy of this present wicked age wherein we live, and whilst I live in praying for your Grace,

Whose I am totallie and finallie,

*Theophilus Landaven.*

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*The Bishop of Landaffe to the Duke.*

*My most honourable good Lord,*

**I**T is meet before I beg a new, that I should first acknowledge those benefits, and more specially give thanks for the last noble favour your Lordship did me in standing up the last day of Parliament, and pleading my cause. Never was poor man more bound to a gracious

Lord



*The Bishop of Landaffe to the Duke.*

Lord for protecting his innocencie: and it came seasonable, like a showr of rain in the time of drouth. My very heart was parched with grief till it came, and it had ere this been broken, had not your Lordships speech then dropt comfort, in strength whereof it yet lives. For an abortive thought, which never came into act, some 2. or 3. years ago conceived, and that tending to a work of mercy, and charitie, a deed of justice, and due thankfulnessse, how far? how foulie have I been traduced? your Honour cannot imagine how deeply I have been wounded in my good name, as if I had deserved deprivation, degradation, yea to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. This can none cure but God, or the King, *Deus in monte*, God hath done his part in providing an occasion. Besides *London* (which is too high for me to look after) and the removes which may be thereby, *Hereford* the next Seat to mine, (whither my Predecessors have oft been removed) is said to be now void. Now good my Lord, speak once more seasonably. It is a doubled, and redoubled, an infinitely multiplied benefit, which is so given. Never had I more need of the Cordial his Majestie gave me at my going into *Wales*, which was that I should not stay long there. It would be a restorative too, not onely of my Credit, so cruelly crackt with the sharp teeth of the wide mouth of vulgar lying fame, but of my estate also, alwaies poor, but lately much more impoverished, and made crazie by occasions of the Church, which drew me to *London* (a place of great expences, as the busie times were) to little purpose: And the Parliament overtaking me, which have held me long, and longer yet are like to hold me here, even to the undoing of my self, my wife and six children, from whom I have now lived 6. or 7. moneths. And what shall I carry home with me but disgrace and infamie? Yet my good Lord, at least procure me of my Lord the King a *Nunc dimittis*, leave to depart. I shall be further out of the reach of pursuing malice, there in the Countrie, do his Majestie better service in gathering up his Subsidies, praying, and teaching my children (whilest I read a Lecture to them, my self was never yet able to get by heart) of parcimony, which must be to them instead of a patrimonie, to pray for his Majesties long life, health, and happinesse. In which prayer shall your Lordship ever be duly remembered by

Your Lordships daily devote  
Beadsman,

*Theophilus Landavensis.*  
Dr.

Dr. Corbet to the Duke.

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**O consider my two great losses this week; one in respect of his Majestie to whom I was to preach; the other in respect of my Patron, whom I was to visit. If this be not the way to repair the latter of my losses, I fear I am in danger to be utterly undone. To presse too near a great man, is a means to be put by; and to stand too far off, is the way to be forgotten: so *Ecclesiasticus*. In which mediocrity could I hit it, would I live and die. My Lord, I would neither presse near, nor stand far off, choosing rather the name of an ill Courtier, then a saucie Scholar,

From your Graces most humble  
servant,

*Rich. Corbet.*

*Postscript.*

**H**ere is news, my noble Lord about us, that in the point of Allegiance now in hand, all the Papists are exceeding Orthodox, the onely Recusants are the Puritanes.

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*The E. of Worcester, Arundel and Surrey, Montgomery  
to the King.*

*May it please your most excellent Majestie,*

**A**ccording to the Orders and Constitutions made and established by your Majestie, and all the Companions of the Order at the last general Chapter held at *White-Hall* the 21. of *May* last past, we are bold to inform your Majestie, that we having diligently viewed divers of the Records of the said Order, do in the black book find, that the keeping of the little Park at *Windsor*, next adjoining unto the Castle, is in direct words annexed for ever to the Office of the Usher for the said Order. So humbly kissing your Royal hands, We rest

Your Majesties most humble and faithful  
Subjects, and servants,

*White-Hall, 1. July,  
1622.*

*E. Worcester, Arundel and Surrey, Montgomery.*

R

*The*

*The Lord Chancellour Bacon to the Duke.**My very good Lord,*

**M**Y Lord of *Suffolk's* cause is this day sentenced. My Lord, and his Lady fined at 30000 l. with imprisonment in the Tower at their own charges. *Bingley* at 2000 l. and committed to the Fleet. Sir *Edward Cook* did his part, I have not heard him do better, and began with a fine of an 100000 l. But the Judges first, and most of the rest reduced it as before. I do not dislike that things passe moderately, and all things considered it is not amisse, and might easily have been worse. There was much speaking of interceding for the Kings mercie, which (in my opinion) was not so proper for a sentence: I said in conclusion, that mercy was to come *ex mero motu*, and so left it. I took some other occasion pertinent to do the King honour, by shewing how happy he was in all other parts of his Government, save only in the manage of his treasure by these Officers:

I have sent the King a new Bill for *Suffex*: for my Lord of *Nottingham's* Certificate was true, and I told the Judges of it before, but they neglected it. I conceive the first man (which is newly set down) is the fittest. God ever preserve and keep you, &c.

*The Earl of Suffolk to his Majestie.**Gracious Sovereign,*

**I**N this grievous time of my being barred from your presence, which to me is the greatest affliction that can lie upon me; and knowing by my former service to you, the sweet and Princely disposition that is in you naturally, together with that unmatchable judgement which the world knoweth you have, is the occasion, that I presume at this time to lay before your Majestie my most humble suit; which is, that you would be pleased to look upon the Case of your poor servant, who after so many faithful desires of mine to do you service, I do not say that successe hath fallen out as I wished, should now not only have suffered for my weaknesse, and errours, but must be further questioned to my disgrace. I would to God your Majestie did truly understand the thoughts of my heart, and if there you could find one the least of ill affections to you, I wish it pulled out of my body.

Now to adde to my miseries, give me leave to let your Majestie know the hard estate I am in; for I do owe at this present (I dare avow  
upon

*The Earl of Suffolk to the Duke.*

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upon my fidelitie to you) little lesse then 40000 l. which I well know will make me and mine poor and miserable for ever.

All this I do not lay down to your Majesties best judging eyes, that I mean this by way of complaint; For I do acknowledge the reason that your Majestie had to do what you did: neither do I go about to excuse errorrs to have escaped me, but will now and ever acknowledge your Gracious favourable dealing with me, if you will be pleased now to receive me again to your favour after this just correction, without which I desire not to enjoy fortune of Goods, or life in this world, which in the humblest manner that I can I beg at your Princely feet, as

Your, &c.

*T. Suffolk.*

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*The E. of Suffolk to the Duke.*

*My Honourable good Lord,*

**A**T the first minute of mine, and my wives delivery out of the Tower, I had returned such acknowledgment due for so great a favour, but that Sir *George Goring* only desired to be the Messenger, as well as he was of the other, Let not (my Lord) my late misfortunes make me or mine more unable to serve, and thank you, then any bee, that thus takes advantage thereby to wrong me in your belief: for what I have both received in abatement of my fine, and speedy libertie, I must confesse to come from your Noble mediation to his Majestie, whose displeasure hath been more grievous to my soul, then all the rest this world can inflict upon me.

As your Lordships kindnesse hath begun to ease me, so now let the same hand cure, and preserve me from a worse relapse wherein I am like to fall, if your power prevent it not. The motion of his Majesties for my perswading my sons out of their places, was the grievoudest sound that ever entred me, for thereby I still breathed under the heavy weight of all my afflictions, not despairing but their Care (charged upon them with my blessing) might somewhat redeem my errorrs, and assure his Majestie, that my will was never tainted with offending him.

I know my Lord, there is little benefit in serving against Masters minds, but they are unworthy servants that will leave such Masters upon



*The Earl of Suffolk to his Majestie.*

upon any conditions. Such as make suit to chop or change for their own advantage, are better lost then kept: But as for mine, my curse should follow them, if ever I could think, they followed his Majestie with such indifferencie. My obedience to his Majestie was ever of more force with me, then mine own ends any way layed, nor ever joyed I more then in running to his Commands. But this (my Lord) rends my heart to think, that, unfortunate I, should bury my sons alive, and pronounce that sentence, which would make me and them Scorns to posteritie. Whilest I have knee to bend, eye to lift up; or tongue to begg, I must implore his Majesties pardon, and mercy in this kind. As for that more drossie part of my estate, it still lies at his Majesties feet, and if he now please to recal, what he remitted, without further condition, I must obey, and let his Majestie see, no change of time or place can change me, my love, my dutie, or my zeal to him.

My Lord, here you may read me in my greatest griefs that ever did fall to me: weigh them well, and think that one day you may be a father, and be as neerly touched, as now I am. The favour you shall do me herein shall prove no hidden talent, for the increase shall not onely be the happinesse of a good work well done, but the hearty acknowledgment of a whole family, and all theirs, that shall as faithfully serve and honour you, as the best of those, that would succeed them, which I hope your Lordship will believe from me, who will ever be

Yours, &c.

*T. Suffolk,*

*The Earl of Suffolk to his Majestie.*

*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

**Y**our Princely favour in delivering me, and my wife out of the tower, must, and shall ever be acknowledged of us with all humble thanks. And now be pleased to give me leave to be an humble suitor to your Majestie, that out of the tender compassion of your Princely heart, you will be pleased to cast your eye upon the miserable estate of your distressed, afflicted, and old Servant, now brought into fear of never recovering of your Majesties favour, and so wretched my case is, as the little hope, that remained in me to live in your memory,

memorie, was by my two sons service to your Gracious self, and the Prince. It is now required of me to impose upon them the resignation of their places, which with all humility I beseech you to give me leave to say, I would sooner use my power over them to will them to burie themselves quick, then by any other way then enforcement to give up their places of service, which onely remaines to me to be either my dying comfort, or my living torment.

Besides, they are now past my government, being both married, and have children, onely I have a Paternal Care of them, which I humbly beseech your best judging Majestie to weigh respectively, how unhappie I must of necessity think my self, if I should be the perswader of that misfortune to my children, that their children within a few years would curse me for, either living, or dead. Upon all these just considerations (most Gracious Master) give me leave to turn my cruel, & unnatural part of perswading them to yield to that, for which I should detest my self, to my humblest desire upon the Knees of my heart to beg humbly of your Majestie, that whatsoever favour you have ever had to me for any service done, that your Majestie will be pleased to spare the ruine of these two young men, whom I find so honestlie disposed in their desire of spending their fortunes, and lives in your Majesties, and your Princely son's service, as if your displeasure be not fullie satisfied with what I have suffered already, that you lay more upon me, and spare them. I have written to my Lord of *Buckingham* to be my mediator to your Majestie in this behalf, which I assure my self he will noblie perform, as well as he hath formerly done, in being my means to your Majestie in obtaining this great begun favour. To conclude with my prayer to God, that your Majestie may ever find the same zeal, and Love to your person in whomsoever you shall imploy, that my hearts Sole-affection did, and ever shall carrie unto you, which God knowes was, and is more to your Majestie then to my wife, and children, and all other worldly things which God measure unto me according to the truth, as

Yours, &c.

*T. Suffolk*

*The Lady Elizabeth Howard to the King.*

which might  
have been  
better  
spent.

**W**Hen I waited upon you at *Theobalds* to beseech your Majesty that my Lord of *Suffolk* might not come into the Star-chamber, you protested that you loved the man, but that you must shew cause to the world why you took the Staffe from him, but for his fortune, that your Majestie would not meddle with it; the same my Lord of *Buckingham* told me, with this assurance of your promise I went away secure in that poynt. Sithence his cause was heard, he moved all that heard it with much compassion to him, and the people did think, that when you sent him to the Tower, you would have sent for him to have kissed your hand. But your Majestie is abused, for they do not let you know, what is thought of the proceeding against this good man, knowing how truely he loveth you, with the truth of his cause, that you would not follow him, and his children with crueltie. My Lord hath spent in running a Tylt, in Masques, and following the Court above 20000. And Sir shall his reward now be to be turned out of his place without any offence committed. Sir I am the child of your old Servant, and am now great with child, I know it will kill me, and I shall willingly die rather then desire life to see my unfortunate self, and mine thus miserably undone. Sir I beseech your Majestie remember my Father that is dead, and me his distressed child; for if he could know any worldly thing, he would wonder to see me, and those that shall come of me, thus strangely used. But my hope is still in your Majesties goodnesse, and that you will not be carried away with the malice of other men. In this confidence I rest with my daily prayers for your health and happinesse, as

Yours &c.

E. H.

*The Lady Elizabeth Norris to the Duke.*

*My Lord,*

**E**Ver since your Lordships first recommendation of my husband to me, I have thought my self much ingaged to your Lordship; for I must confesse after he had taken his leave of me, I did love him never the lesse: for immediately after my fathers death (when in  
my

my Conscience he least expected to hear from me) I did both send and write to him, which he might interpret an encouragement, or rather an invitation. I did it the rather, because I did not believe those which did him ill offices; for those which were most for him, on a sudden were most against him. I must confesse, that pitie did confirm my affection, and I trust your Lordship will commiserate his estate, as you do the fall of all mankind, for I was the *Eva*, and he was the *Adam*: and I pray God the King and your Lordship may forgive us, as I am confident God will pardon us. Your Lordship may imagine my Mother was of the plot, but I take God to witnesse, that she was not only against it, but contrarily. I did believe she was wholly for your Brother: And for your Brother, my Mother recommended him to me, whom I used like a Gentleman of high worth and qualitie. But I did by no means abuse him by promise, or taking guifts, which I falsely suffer for, in the opinion of the world. I only took a ring by my mothers appointment, which came as a token from my Lady your mother, which was of very small value. My husband and I am resolved rather to suffer in the opinion of the world, then contradict any thing which shall be aggravated against us. We must both honour you, and think our selves much ingaged to your Lordship. After God, I protest you are the onely authour of it: for by your means, I first settled my affection. I know there are those which do my husband and me ill offices. I have reason to be jealous of the Lord *Montgomery*, for he would have put tricks upon me in making me deny the Contract; and when he failed in that, he went about to make me believe Mr. *Wray* had denied his. And to tell your Lordship true, his violence and over-earnestnesse made me the more averse. If my husband had not fetched me, I would have come to him, and so I sent him word.

Thus humbly beseeching your Lordship as you are happie in your wife, that you would be pleased to make our peace with the King; and seeing it is Gods act, that you would honour us with your favour. We shall be both bound to joyn in prayer, that you may be ever happie in your Wife, and in your Childrens Children. And so with my humble respect to your Lordship, I rest

Your Lordships humble servant,

*Elizabeth Norris.*

*The*



*Sir Edward Cecyl to the Duke.*

*My very good Lord,*

**H**OW much my affection and ambition hath been to serve your Lordship before other men, I hope I shall not need now to expresse, considering it hath been clear and manifest to your own trial, whereof I do bear still the testimonie, and the continuance in mine own heart. But in your noblenesse it will not appear impertinent to your Lordship, that I put you in mind, how much I suffered in the disgrace my enemies cast upon me about the imployment for the Palatinate, when I was under your protection; whether I suffered for mine own sake, or for your Lordship, I know not: howsoever of this I am assured, the greatest cause I gave them, that had least reason, was because I sought not them, but your Lordship only. And for the successe, you may see by the miracles the imployment hath brought forth, that it was carried another way, rather for private malice, then for any great zeal to the advancement of the publique Cause.

Now my Lord, for your own honour, and for the upholding of your servant, make me so happie, if there be any imployment for men of my profession (as there is opinion) that I may be the man by your Lordships means, wherein you shall make me your obliged, as I am now your affectionate servant. For which you shall be assured of as thankful heart, as any breathes in the whole world. In the enjoying of which kind of service, though you are accounted the most happie among great men, yet you cannot have too much of it. I could remember your Lordship of his Majesties gracious promise for my imployment before any other in the presence of the Prince and your Lordship, and that I am the first General his Majestie ever made, and that I had no ill successe in the perfecting of that service; yet for all this, I will onely trust in your Noblenesse, if you resolve to make me your Creature.

And if it shall please his Majestie to hold me worthy of this honour, I will undertake to save his Coffers (as I have heretofore done) the sixth part of the employments charge and cost, that any other man shall require, who makes not a computation for the managing of it, by a sufficient expence of his own.

I will not write more at this time, but to wish your Lordship as  
much

much happinesse as your heart can desire, and that you will give me an occasion to shew how much I am, and will be.

Your Lordships most faithfull and  
From our Army this affectionate servant,  
20. of Novemb.

*Ed. Cecil.*

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*Sir Edward Cecil to the Duke.*

*May it please your Excellency,*

**T**His Gentleman Sir *George Blundel* hath now cleerly quitted the service of the States, for this especial reason (as he assures me) to be the more absolutely employed in your Excellencies service. This I know, his friends here that love him (which are many) are very sorrie to part with him, for there is no melancholy where he goes. And therefore considering the condition of this place, we shall be great losers, being upon a melancholy place, and service, ill payed, sick of all diseases in the world, in a place that is next neighbour to hell, if the book printed say true, which saith, that the Low-Country-men are next neighbours to the devil. And I am sure, we are now seated lower then any part of these Countries; for the waters are above us, and about us, and we live in more fear of them, then of the enemy; for we may be drowned at an hours warning, if we do not continually work against it, and yet, and it shall please your Excellencie, this is the Seat for a Winter War. Many more inconveniencies we are daily sensible of, of which I have endured so much, as I dare say without vanitie, that few of my rank and fortune have suffered more, or longer then I have done in these Countries; having served these 27. years together without intermission; and all this for no other end (for I am 900 l. a year the worse for the Wars) then to make me able to serve my Prince and Countrie when occasion should be offered.

But since the time is come, that opinion doth so govern, as strangers get the Command, and new Souldiers employed, which was never heard of before amongst men of our occupation, It is high time for me to retire, and wish I had been of any other profession then this. For if long service can get no honour, nor reward, nor imployment, but the contrary; it would touch a mans discretion to be

*Sir Edward Cecyl to Secretary Conway.*

more and more unfortunate : All my comfort is, that I shall have the honour and good fortune in my retreat, to draw neerer to your Excellencies service, if not in my profession, (which I desire above all) yet in something whereof your Excellencie may make use of me. For I am ambitious of nothing more, then to prove my self by action, and not by recommendation,

Your Excellencies most faithful devoted,  
and humble servant,

*From our Army at  
Wallike the 4<sup>th</sup> of  
Decemb.*

*Ed. Cecyl.*

*Sir Edward Cecil to Mr. Secretary Conway.*

*My very good Lord,*

I hath pleased your Lordship to write me three Letters lately : the one a particular list of officers, that should be sent from hence, the second for Mr. *Hopton*, the third an acknowledgement onely of the receipt of my Letter to your Lordship. The first I have put in execution, and have written to your son, *Sir Edward Conway* to give them all notice of your Lordships Care of them. And to let them know how welcome any one shall be to me, that you think fit to be employed. For one of them called Ensign *Rainesford*, I had set him down, because I received your Lordships direction from himself. For Mr. *Hopton* I have written unto him according to your desire, with your Letter inclosed; concerning the last, I give your Lordship many humble thanks for having expressed the acceptance by your answer. Touching your businesse here : the State hath ben as contrary to us, as the wind. For though they see a great action likely to be performed to their own good, with little cost to themselves ; yet they desire to be so wise, as to make benefit, both wayes, and not to balk any advantage: which makes them stand so stiff upon the denying of us Officers, and Souldiers by election, and will yield to send none but whole companies, onely to abate so much upon the repartitions. But *Sir William St. Loiger* and I, have utterly refused their offer as a proposition against his Majesties service : for by this ignorant winter war our Companies are grown half new men, having lost most of our old, and of those new men the half are sick besides : So that his Majestie should be beholden to them, rather for names, then men:  
And

And again for the Officers, and Soulders, it is like they should be most of them the worst in the regiment, from whence they are to come. Whereas if we might have had those Officers we made choice of, which were but ten Captaines, and other inferiour Officers to the number of thirty, they might have been fit for employment upon a double enemy. And I could wish, that whensoever his Majestie shall be once furnished with Good Officers, it would please him to make account of them, as these men do, who have had long experience, and known their Value.

It pleased my Lord the Duke to write to me a Letter, and to let me know he had chosen me his Officer, to attend, and obey him this journey: an honour too great for me, because I did never expect it, but nothing shall excuse my faults, saving my life. And among many other directions he commanded me to provide for the Army such necessary things as cannot be had in England. Whereof I have thought of many, which I fear, I shall not have the time to get. In my care belonging to these provisions, I have considered the use of our small pieces of Ordinance here, which they call Drakes, that shoot 70. Musket bullets. They will be of great use in this service, both in regard of the quick landing, and of the passing of such mountainous places, as perhaps we may meet withal, and likewise in respect of the little hope we have to get any good musquetiers, or at least any great store of them. But they are in such favour here, as we can obtain none from hence, and so are forced by a general consent to buy ten of them here, that were provided for the King of France. And the reputation they carrie is such, as they are readie mony every where. They cost not much more then 400. sterling, and I hope they will prove the profitablest pieces that were ever used in the quarrel of his Majesties Friends. We have likewise considered of what service a company of Firelocks would be to the action, but the time is so short, we cannot raise them. Howsoever we are promised of the States to have leave for a companie of Harquebussiers, which are of such use upon all occasions, that we cannot misse them. And we have chose a brave and worthie Gentleman his Majesties Servant and Subject who is willing to leave any service for this, being the service of the King. If they should have been raised in England, his Majestie must have payed for the horses, armes, saddles, and pistols; and yet not find any able to have served in that kind.

The wind (as yet) holds contrary, which hath made me send this by Sir Henry Vane, who goes a way, that I dare not passe. But (I hope



*Sir Edward Cecyl to the Duke.*

hope) if the wind serve, not to be many dayes behind him to receive your Lordships command, more particularly which I will obey as

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

Hagh 2. June. 1625.

*Ed: Cecyl.*

*Postscript.*

**M**Y Lord, now in this time of necessity for the getting of good Musquetiers, there are many hundred to be found in England that have served in this Land, which by proclamation and promise of mony in hand, or more pay, will easily discover themselves, whom some of the new men (to be released) will be glad to satisfy, without charge to his Majestie.

*Sir Edward Cecyl to the Duke.*

*My most excellent Lord,*

**T**Here are some Letters of mine, that had come to your Lordships hands, a good many dayes since, had not the wind been contrary and withstood their passage. The substance whereof was onely to shew you how thankful I hold my self to your excellencie for so great and infinite a favour as it hath pleased your excellencie to think me worthie of. But as is it a favour that will set me on work all the dayes of my life: so is it greater then I can ever deserve. Howsoever my resolution is to do my best. And I humbly beseech your Excellencie to believe, that with my diligence, and the best understanding I have, I will seek nothing but to please you, and to honour you; and if God say Amen to make the world speak of your design as much (I hope) as ever our Nation hath given cause. And for the faults of my self, and those I shall bring with me, they shall not be excused, but with our lives, and bloods: for I hope I shall bring none, but such as know what to do, and when they come to it will bite sooner then bark. I do promise my self your Excellencie will have no cause to doubt or repent you of your favours, for I know what men have done, and what they can do in my occupation. But God is God, and men are but men.

All my discouragement is, that the States answer not his Majesties expectation

expectation being fearful (especially since the losse of *Breda*) to part with any of their old Officers, or old Souldiers; but my hope is now better, for we have put them to another resolution, by answering all their objections. By this disposition of the States to the keeping all their old Souldiers, I wish your Excellencie will be pleased to be as careful in your choice, as you are desirous of great designs. For otherwise the honour, and the charge will both be cast away, as your Excellencie may perceive in some of our latter expeditions, seeing that although there are many called Souldiers in the world, yet but a few there be, that are so: for so long a man must live in the profession to inable him sufficiently, that many grow unable to perform, what they know, before they have attained to the knowledge of what to perform. The knowledge of war being the highest of humane things that God suffereth mans understanding to reach unto.

I have according to your Excellencies command made as many provisions as I can for the shortnesse of the time, of such things as cannot be gotten in England. And I could have wished I had known of this imployment but some months sooner; for then I could have saved his Majesty somewhat, and have added many things that would very much have advanced the service. For in our profession the preparing of things belonging to the war, doth more shew a mans experience and judgment, then any thing else, by reason the first errors are the begetting of many more, that afterwards cannot be avoided. Your Excellencie may be pleased to inform your self of all the exploits, and undertakings of our nation, that none of them hath suffered (for the most part) more then through the negligence of provisions, as in victual, munition, boats for Landing, and for the receiving of sick men, to keep the rest from infection. In this point of provision, it is not good to trust upon a particular man, for gain is a corrupter where the care is not publique. And in so great an expedition, one must do with living men, as they do with the dead, there must be overseers and executors to have a true intent well performed.

I have presumed to write thus much, to shew my thankfulnesse to your Excellencie, and my great affection to his Majesties service, whereof I am infinitely possessed. I hear your Excellencie is in *France*, but my prayers to God are to send you safe, and happie home, for the World holds you the soule of advancing his Majesties affairs, wherein his Honour is engaged as it is, especially in this action, being the first, and a Great One.

And as for my self, who am now a creature you have made, I know not:

*Sir Edward Cecil to the Duke.*

not what I shall do when I come to *England*, being your Excellencies shadow only.

I have here attended the wind, and since I cannot force it, I am glad of the opportunitie to send the Letters by Sir *Henry Vane*, who goes over Land, a Passage I am not capable of, having been so long their enemy. But I hope God will send me soon after, leaving Sir *William St. Leiger* here for the dispatch of that which remains. I have written more particularly to my Lord *Conway* which I dare not set down here for fear of being tedious, and knowing his Lordship will give your Excellencie an account of it. And so in all humbleness and dutie, I pray God send your Excellency honour, and length of life for his Majestie's affairs, and for the happinesse of

Your Lordships most humble, faithful  
and obedient servant,

*Hagh* the 3<sup>d</sup>. of  
June, 1625.

*Ed. Cecil.*

*Sir Edward Cecil to the Duke.*

*My most Excellent Lord,*

**T**He occasion of my boldnesse in presenting your Excellency with these lines, is for that, contrary to my expectation, I hear that there is a Commission a drawing to make Sir *Horace Vere* a Baron of *England*. It is strange to me at this time to hear it, for that I know not what worth there is more in him, then in those, that are equal in profession, and before him in birth. If your Excellencie have made choice of me to be your second in this journey of so much charge, and expectation, and to make me lesse then I was, what courage shall I have to do you service? or what honour will redound to your Excellencie? But although I write it, yet I cannot believe it, for that I know you of that judgment and noblenesse, that you will rather adde to your faithful servants, although they beg it not, then to disgrace them, and make them lesse. Therefore I will continue my belief, and rest

29. of July,  
1625.

Your Excellencies most humble,  
and devoted servant,

*Ed. Cecil.*

*Mj*

*My Gracious Lord,*

**I**T hath not a little troubled your faithful servant at my last being with your Excellencie in *White-Hall* Garden, to understand (after I had attended so long) that I had ill offices done me to his Majestie, and yet the World is of opinion, that I have your Excellencies favor. I presently went home, and ever since I have mused and considered, and can find no reason or policie for my being kept from his Majesties presence, which maketh me and my neer friends astonished. For hitherto I have received no favour, but rather the most strictest proceeding, that ever was used (and without example) to any man, that had such a charge.

And whereas there is no Commission of any force, or validitie, without the assistance of the State, and Prince he serveth, for he that Commandeth is but one man, and the rest are many thousands, which are great oddes, yet I have been publicquely heard before the whole body of the Councel (my adversaries standing by) so curiously, as no inquisition could have done more.

For first, I was examined upon mine instructions, then upon my acts of Councel, then upon my journal, then upon a journal compounded of by ten sundry persons, which were under my Command both Landmen and Seamen, which was never heard of before, and I did not only answer in particular to all points that were demanded, but by writing which is extant: yet cannot I get any judgment or report made to his Majestie, but rather time is given to my enemies (as I hear) to make an ill report of me and my actions to the King. But when I was to be accused, there was no time delayed nor deferred, and such men as I have proved guilty, and failed in the principal point of the service, to have fired and destroyed the Shipping, are neither examined, or any thing said against them, which is strange, especially Sir *Michael Geere*. So that I know not how my Lord of *Essex* can take any thing ill from your Excellencie, unlesse it be to have you do injustice, or against all reason. He may rather give your Excellencie many thanks, that his Lordship is not called into question for letting passe the King of Spain's ships, that offered him fight, which would have been the chief service, having instructions not to let any sic, or break out, without fighting with them.

Now (my Lord) I humbly beseech your Excellencie to consider my Case, that hath been so severely examined, and no body else, and that after my Examination, I have lingered so long in my wrongs  
and



and disgraces, and by the ill offices your Grace doth see are done me to his Majestie, which will rather increase then diminish, so long as I shall be kept from the presence of his Majestie, that is I know of himself the justest Prince in the world, and yet to be in your Excellencies favour.

And I hold my self clear of all imputations in despite of all malice and practice, that hath been against me, to obscure all my endeavours which my adversaries in their consciences can best witnesse, that when they slept I waked; when they made good cheer, I fasted; and when they rested, I toyled. And besides, when they went about to hinder the journey at *Plimouth*, by railing on the beggerlineesse of it, and discrediting of it, I was content to take it upon me, though against my judgment, as I did secretly deliver both to his Majestie and your Grace, before I departed from the Coast: Nominating in my Letter to his Majestie all the inconveniencies that did after happen unto the Fleet: for had it not been in my obedience to his Majestie, and my good affection to your Excellencie, (that I did see so much affect it, and was so far iagaged) I would have been rather torn in pieces, then to have gone with so many ignorant and malicious people, that did shew so little affection or courage to his Majesties service, or any affection at all to your Excellencie. Yet for all this, all hath been laid upon me, having had rather hard courses taken against me, then any way maintained in my Commission which was given me, which no State, that I have ever heard of, did before. I pray God his Majesties future service do not suffer for it; for where his Majesties Officers are not obeyed, he can never be served.

Wherefore my suit is, that if I have any ill offices done me to his Majestie, that I may clear my self before him by your favour, which I have so long attended after; or by way of Petition, which the meanest Subject is not to be hindred in; for as I continue now, I have not onely wrong done to me, but I suffer as much punishment (without any fault) as if I had been condemned.

And that your Excellencie will do me the favour to deal plainly with me, to let me know, why I am deferred from his Majesties presence, which is not denied to any, having received so much wrong.

If my suffering be to adde any service to your affaires in these troublesome times, let but this honest friend of mine know so much, and I will suffer any inconvenience, as I have, misery, dan-  
ger,

ger, and decay of my fortunes for your Excellencies sake. And so I rest

Your Excellencies most devoted, and  
28<sup>th</sup>. Apr. faithful and thankful servant and  
1626. Creature,

*Wimbledon.*

*My Lord Wimbledon to the Duke.*

*My Gracious Lord,*

I Understand that it pleased the Lords to grant the Colonels leave to accuse me anew, and they have taken to them the most discontented Seamen they could get to help their malice forward. I had thought, that before my coming, they should have had time and advantage sufficiently to have shewen all their envie. And I was perswaded, that they could not have desired more, then to have been present when I should be examined, and my journal read. At the reading whereof they took all the exceptions that might be, and I did answer them all in your Excellencies presence, as I thought fully, whereupon they seemed to be so content, as they had no more to say; neither did they at that time desire to make a journal, or to say any more.

Then the Lords resolutions were only to hear the Seamen speak, upon whom all the businesse did lie. If they may be suffered upon new Combinations, to bring new slanders upon me, I cannot tell what to think of it. But this I can say, that if this course be taken, his Majestie will never be without a mutinous Armie. (which all States in policy do shun) For when the Common Souldiers shall see their Chiefs give them such examples, they will soon follow, being that all Armies are subject to it, especially a new Armie. I had thought that one Trial had been sufficient, being it was before such an Assembly. But if I should be accused, I should desire to have new accusers, and not the same that have already accused me, (for so there would be no end) & that upon their Petition, I might have been heard what I could justly say, why they should not have leave to make a journal, and not to give them leave before I were heard. I am afraid there was never any such president before, and what inconveniencies may come of it time will shew.

*Sir John Ogle to the Duke.*

I have sought to none of the Lords as I fear my enemies have done; (I know not whether I shall suffer for it or no) but my trust hath only been in your Excellencie and the justnesse of my Cause. I have been your Excellencies Officer in as difficult and as miserable an action as ever any one hath undertaken, and with as little assistance as ever any one had. For many of those that should have assisted me, were more careful in betraying me, then in forwarding his Majesties service. And if this course be held to encourage them, there is no man shall suffer more then his Majesties service will. For it will be folly for any man to look to his Majesties service, or to take any pains to prevent, or hinder that which may be committed against it; But to let every man do what he will, so all will be pleased, and he that Commands shall have no man to slander him, which is the way to live in quiet.

Thus much I thought was fit for me to let your Excellencie understand, and withal, that I held it a great unhappinesse for me (that have taken such toyl and pains, and suffered so many slanders) to be kept back by my enemies from that honour, that never any one of my rank and place was hindered in, which is from kissing the hand of my Sovereign Lord the King All Power is in your Lordships hands; whether you will uphold me in my just cause, or no, or let me be ruined for want of it. So that I can say no more, but that if I suffer, I shall be your Excellencies Martyr, if not, I shall all my life rest

Your Excellencies most humble, and most  
thankful servant and Creature,

*Wimbleton.*

*Sir John Ogle to the Duke.*

*Right Excellent and most Gracious Lord,*

AND because you are so, why should not I put my soul in your hand? that I have not done it sooner was not through want of will in me, but it hath been the will of God, that mine acknowledgment should be the fuller, your goodnesse the greater. Your Grace cannot be ignorant of the many motions I have had thereto, but my judgment hath been made irresolute by several distractions. I lay now my self, and the fortunes of me and mine at your Graces feet.

Take

Take me up then (noblest Lord) as becometh the same which you have, and the confidence which I have of you with a hand of goodnesse. If I had wilfully sinned against you (when I was wickedly insnared and beguiled by that wretch at *Utrecht*, to whom I gave some Extract out of your Letters, as also out of the Lord Embassadors,) or did yet with obstinacie maintain such indiscreet proceeding, your Grace might in justice reject me as unworthy.

But since you have long discerned in me a propension to crave your pardon, though still unhappily diverted till this time; I trust your true Noblenesse, generouseasle and goodnesse to be such, as you will not only not turn this heartie submission to any disadvantage on my part; but looking upon mine ingenuitie, with a right eye of gracious inclination, both pardon my fault, and follie towards your self, and also (to bind my prayers to be offered in the greater zeal for you, for I shall not be able to do you better service then in prayer) be a strong mediator to his gracious Majestie, that my errorrs of weaknesse, and want of discretion, committed then towards his late Majestie of ever blessed memorie, and his Embassadour, with what other oversights may have been gathered up since, may be freely and fully forgiven and remitted, that so my soul being discharged of all fear of displeasure against me, I may with a cheerful heart and quiet conscience, go on in such a vocation as the Lord shall have appointed for me. My Lord, this wound hath long festered neer my heart, and though false skins have been drawn over it sometimes by unskilful hands, yet have I ever judged it the surest cure to rip it up by Confession, and heal it by Contrition. And sure I judge that it favours more of a right generous spirit to confesse a fault, then to conceal it, especially when the party offending is free from malice, and the party offended of a nature so noble and full of goodnesse, as nothing can be wished to be added unto it, and which is yet more; and this have you graciously done to me, (my Lord) signed himself with his own hand a true and faithful friend unto him, the more to invite him to trust him. And trust you I do my Lord, and in you (next my Gracious Sovereign) as much as may be in any arm of flesh. The God of Heaven (I hope) will speak peace to my soul, if the King, and your Grace will send peace to my heart. I trust you will, and will pray to God you may, that I may in all cheerfulness and thankfulness ever remain

Your Grace's most humble, and faithful, and  
obliged servant

Exeter 3. June,  
1623.

J. Ogle.  
Postscript.



## Sir Robert Mansel to the Duke.

*Postscript.*

I beseech your Grace to send some other man to take this Charge which I too weakly for fear of offending by denial have thus far undergone, but upon hope of being withdrawn. Yet still submit my self to your Graces good pleasure.

## Sir Robert Mansel to the Duke.

*Right Honourable and my singular good Lord,*

HAVING used all the possible speed I could to repair to *Algier*, where I should have been by the 15. of *March* last, I held it my dutie humbly to present unto your Lordship the particular account of my proceedings.

Before my arrival I furnished the two Prizes, three *Brigandines*, and a fourth Boat with Firelocks, and combustible materials for the burning of the Pyrats ships within the *Moor*, and had trained my men in the execution of their several duties, and likewise appointed a Squadron of boats with small shot to rescue the vessels of execution in their advancement and retreat.

The first night of my arrival being the 21. of *May* last, the vessels of execution were all advanced, but by reason of contrary winds they were commanded to retire.

The second and third nights they were also in a readinesse, but were withheld with calmes.

The fourth night it pleased God to blesse us with a fair Gale, and they being advanced again, and the two ships with the fire-works, having almost recovered the mouth of the *Moor* (the wind to our great grief) turned to the opposite point of the *Compass*.

The boats performed their directions in towing of the ships, but considering, that by the continuance of the course, they should expose their principallest men to hazard, by reason of the great store of Ordnance and small shot, which plyed upon them, they debated amongst themselves what to do, Capt. *Hughes* (who commanded one of the *Brigandines*) replied, Go on, and give the attempt with the boats, which they cheerfully pursued, crying out without cessation, King *James*, King *James*, God blesse King *James*, and fearless of danger (even in the mouth of the Canon, and small shot, which showed

red like haile upon them) they fired the ships in many places, and maintained the same to the great comfort of us, that were spectators, so long as they had any powder left in their bandileers, striving in the end who should have the honour to come off last, the which at length, as a due to his former resolution and courage, they left to captain *Hughes*, and so retired, all the ships continuing still their cheerful cry, King *James*, with the loss of 20. that were slain, and hurt, and leaving the fire flaming up in 7. several places, which continued in some of them long after their retreat, and being aboard his Majesties ships.

The cowardly Turks, who before durst not shew themselves to so weak a force, but from the walls or the tops of their houses, so soon as they perceived all the boats retired, opened their ports, and Sallied out in 1000. and by the help of so great multitudes, and a suddain shower of rain, seconded with a calme which then happened, the fire was after extinguished, without doing any more hurt then making two of their ships unserviceable.

During that Stay, there there came out of the Moal only one Frigate, which we forced to run on shoare.

Other service by us there performed, was the sinking of one of their best men of war by Sir *Thomas Wilford*, and Captain *Childlegh*, she was mann'd with a 130. Turks and 12. Christians, whereof 12. onely escaped, the rest were either slain or drowned, which appeared both by the relation of divers Christians which nightly escaped aboard us, and by divers of the dead bodies that floated upon the water by our ships. We took likewise before their faces in the Bay a Fly-boat, which the Pyrats had formerly taken from the Christians and sold to *Ligorn*. In her Merchandize to be exchanged for Pyrats goods, and some mony amounting to 2000. and odd pounds, the exact account whereof I shall not say to addresse to your Lordship as soon as the same is perfected by the council of War.

The Turks hereupon presently manned out three Gallies to reskue here, but Capitaine *Giles*, and Captain *Herbert*, with the help of three Brigandines, which I sent out to second them, soon fetcht her up, and brought ther unto me, and the Gallies were put to flight by Sir *Thomas Wilford*, Captain *Pennington*, and Captain *Childlegh*.

During the time of my aboard there, after the attempt made by the boates, I attended ten dayes for an opportunity to send in the ships with the fire workes, to finish the service begun by the boats; but in all that time there happened not a breath of wind fit for their attempt, notwithstanding the ships were allwayes ready at the instant, that

that they should receive my directions to advance. But at last understanding by the Christians (that escaped by swimming) aboard me, how the Pyrats had boomed up the Moales with Masts, and Rafts, set a double guard upon their ships, planted more ordnance upon the Moale, and the walls, and manned out twenty Boats to guard the Boome, and perceiving likewise, that they had sent out their Gallies, and boates both to the Eastward and Westward to give advce to all the ships upon the Coast, that they should not come in during my abroad there, and so finding no hope remaining, either by stratagem to do service upon them in the Moale, or to meet with any more of them, in the regard of the daily complaints brought unto me, both from some of the Kings ships, and most of the Marchants of their want of victuals, I resolved by the advice of the Councel of war to set sail, whence I made my repair to this place, where I met my Brother *Roper* with your Lordships dirrections which I have received, and at the instant obeyed, by signifying his Majesties pleasure declared by your Lordships Letter unto the worthie Commanders of those four ships whom his Majestie hath pleased to call home.

But my Lord, in the duty I owe your Lordship, and my zeal to his Majesties honour and service, I humbly beg your Lordships pardon to advertize your Lordship, that seeing we have now made this attempt upon the Pyrates, and that they perceive that our intent is to work their utter ruine and confusion, the recalling of these his Majesties Forces before the arrival of others in their stead, and the bereaving us of so many worthy and experienced Commanders, I fear may prove more prejudicial to the service, then upon one daies consideration I dare presume to set down in writing, by encouraging the Pyrats to put in execution such stratagems upon us, as to my knowledge they have already taken into their consideration. My reasons for the same, I shall be bold upon more mature deliberation to offer in all humbleness unto your Lordships judicious view, either by the Commanders that are to return unto your Lordship, or by a messenger which divers of the Councel of War advise to be addressed over land on purpose with the same.

And so being ready (so soon as we have received in our water, and dispatched divers other businesses, which of necessity must be ordered in this place) to set sail for *Malaga*, there to receive in our remainder of Victuals, and to take my leave of these 4. Ships, and such other of the Merchants as cannot be made serviceable in these parts. With my endlesse prayers for your Lordships increase of all honour,

honour, I cease your Lordships farther trouble for the present;  
And rest

Your Lordships most humble, most faithful and sad servant,

From aboard the  
Lion in Alegant

Rode. 9th. June.

Robert Mansel

1621.

Sir Robert Mansel to the Duke.

Right Honourable and my singular good Lord,

**I**T is not unknown unto your Lordship, that Sir *Thomas Button* before his coming out, thought himself much wronged in that he did not hold the place of Vice Admiral in this Fleet, whereof I must acknowledge him very worthy, and that for my part I had ingaged Sir *Richard Hawkins*, a very Grave, Religious, and experienced Gentleman, before I was assured whether Sir *Thomas Button* would leave his imployment in *Ireland*, or no; and that afterwards Sir *Thomas Button* by your Lordships mediation, was contented to undertake the charge he now holdeth, which God knowes I laboured for no other end, then for the securitie and advancement of his Majesties service, by reason of the experience I have had of his sufficiency and ability.

Since that time, I have doubled that injury. A wrong was done unto him which cannot be denied, he patiently appealed to me for justice, which I must confesse I denied him. But the name of the person that offered the wrong, and the reasons why I denied him Justice, I must leave unto Sir *Richard Hawkins* and Sir *Henry Palmer* to relate unto your Lordship, and if that will not give your Lordship satisfaction, I must humbly submit my self to your Lordships Censure.

Notwithstanding the impression that these injuries took with him, yet thus much I must truly confesse in his behalf, That there was no man more zealous to advance his Majesties service nor more forward to undergo any danger or hazard then himself, whereof he hath given assured testimonie to the World in these three particulars.

First, in the service performed by him on a Christmasse day at night, whereof I have formerly advertized your Lordship at large.

Secondly, Then in going over to *Algier* cheerfully, without complaining,



*Captain John Pennington to the Duke.*

plaining, when his Ship was so grievously infected, that he had not able men in her to manage her Sails.

Also in imploying the most choice men in his Ship under the command of his Nephew, for the firing of the Pyrates ships within the Moale of *Algier*.

And lastly, in his joyning with Sir *Richard Hawkins* in the towing off one of the Prizes, when she was becalmed within musquet shot of the *Moale*.

My Lord, I must protest unto your Lordship, that I had no ends of mine own for the injuries done to Sir *Thomas Button*, and therefore your Lordship cannot cast a greater honour upon your poor servant then in repairing him, which I humbly begg of your Lordship.

If Sir *Richard Hawkins* do return unto me, then I shall be an humble suitor unto your Lordship in the behalf of Sir *Thomas Button* that he may return to his imployment in *Ireland*, from whence in my earnest desires to enjoy his company and assistance, I was the only means to withdraw him, and that he may receive such allowance and entertainment as was formerly usually paid unto him, by which means your Lordship will take away the Curses of his children, whose blouds are neer unto me, and oblige me with my continual prayers for your Lordships increafe of honour, ever to remain

Your Lordships most humble and  
faithful servant,

From aboard the *Vant-*  
*guard the 10. of July.*

1621.

*Robert Mansell.*

*Captain John Pennington to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

MY last to your Lordship was of the 18. of this present from *Stokes Bay*, since which time I have received two from your Grace, at *Deep* one by your Secretarie Mr. *Nicholas*, whereby your Grace commands me to deliver up his Majesties Ship, and the rest under my Command, to the hands of such *Frenchmen* as his Christian Majestie shall appoint, according to his Majesties pleasure signified by my Lord *Conway*. And that I and the rest of the Masters take security of them for our ships severally according to the true valuation.

on. And to see this put in execution, you sent your Secretarie Mr. *Nicholas*. And the other by Mr. *Ingham* in answer of mine written from *Stokes Bay*. The former part whereof being only a command to put your former in practice, and the latter a denial of my humble suit for my being called home from this Service. Which said part confirms absolutely, that it was not your Graces pleasure that I should yield up the ships into their hands, and dispose of my self and companie of them: for I trust your Grace had no such unjust thought as to continue me here alone after.

The French had possession of her to be their slave, as I am sure they would have made me if they had their wills. To give your Grace an account of what I have done since I came to *Deep* (which was the 21<sup>th</sup>. at this instant about nine of the clock at night) would be too tedious for this time. The 22<sup>th</sup>. in the morning Earlie I sent my boat ashore with my Lievetenant to find out your Graces Secretarie, to receive my Letters, whereby I might know your Graces pleasure, and to kisse my Lord Embassadours hands from me, and to let him know I was come with his Majesties ship to do him service, but could not command the rest to come along with me, their Masters not being there, and all their companies in a mutiny. But his jealousy was such, that he would not suffer your Graces Secretary to come aboard, or to send me your Letters, or that my Lieutenant should speak to him, but in his presence, but presently sent a Gentleman aboard to me, commanding me to come ashore to him, which I confesse I was very loath to do, in regard my people were much discontented, and ready daily to mutiny, being all wonderous unwilling to go against *Rockel*, or those of their religion. And besides, I never having been a shoare, since I came into my command, neither on our own Coast, or else where. (It being not my use) yet notwithstanding these particulars knowing his Greatnesse, and your Graces pleasure, for the giving him all due respect, I presently went to him, where he taking me into a roome apart with your Graces Secretary, he first delivered me my Lord *Conwaies* Letter, or rather a warrant, (for so he tearms it himself) for the delivery of the ship into their hands (as they interpreted it) and then your Graces Letter, commanding me to see his Majesties pleasure (signified by my Lord *Conwaie*) put in execution. And lastly a letter from the King of France, thereby willing me to receive his Souldiers aboard that he had provided, and his Cousin the *D. de Mommorencie*, and to go presently, and to joyn with his Great Fleet against his rebellious subjects. This is the effect of that Letter. Having read all these letters,

*Captain John Pennington to the Duke.*

he would presently have possession of the ship that night, for that he could not stay longer. I told him, that I did not understand it so, but that I was to render all service to his most Christian Majestie; but nothing would serve him, save the present possession, which because I would not yield unto, he grew into a strange furie, telling me, that your Grace had sent your Secretary to see her delivered, and security to be taken for her. My answer was, that I was ready to obey, according as I understood the warrant, which was to do his Christian Majestie service, and to receive a convenient number of Souldiers aboard me. But to dispossesse my self of my command, I had no such order: but still nothing would satsfie him but the shipe, telling me, he would not entertain at the most (if they were willing) above 60. or 80. of our people. My answer was, I had no order to discharge a man of them, neither could I, but if they were discharged, what they should do, or how they should get home, having neither meat, mony, nor clothes, I know not. To the first of these, he told me, that Mr. *Nicholas* had order by word of mouth from your Grace to discharge us, which Mr. *Nicholas* confirmed, as also to see the ship delivered, which he commanded me to do. But with your Graces pardon I durst not do it upon words, it being a businesse of too high consequence, neither if I had been willing, would my companie ever have condescended to it. To the second, for our passage, he promised to have provided barques for us; but to conclude this, and not to insist upon the rest of the particulars (they being too tedious) his rage and fury was such, that I must of necessity give a little way thereto, or else I think he would have kept me ashore, so as I told him I was content if my company would yield thereunto, and therefore desired to go aboard to speak with them, and to give order for the drawing up of the inventorie. And upon this he suffered me to depart, but not without promises of a large summe of mony which should be given me at the surrender, besides a royal pension during my life, he sending his Secretarie, and many others aboard with me to see all things put in execution, and your Graces Secretary to perswade me to do it. But when I had them aboard, I told them it was a thing not presently done, neither was my companie willing to deliver over the ship without a more ample warrant, yet I would do my best to bring both to passe so soon as I could. So using them with the best respect I could, and fair promises, that I would use all diligence for the accomplishing of their desires; though I must confesse I never meant it, till I should hear further from your Grace, and have an especial Warrant from his Majestie, or your Grace for it, it being a businesse

of

of so high a nature. Vpon these hopes they departed, and went a shoare, where they had not been long, till some of them returned back with a strange allarum from his Lordship, that he would presently have possession of her, or my resolution to the contrary. And althoug I alleadged that the inventory, and other businesse would not be dispatched in two dayes, it would not suffice, except I would receive 400. Souldiers aboard in the mean time till things were perfected.

Thus seeing I could not delay him till I heard farther from your Grace, I was forced to give him this resolute answer, That upon this Warrant, I would not deliver over the ship unto him, neither if I would, would the company give way unto the same, we not holding it a sufficient discharge for us: But that we were ready to receive a competent number of Souldiers aboard, with a chief Commander, and to go upon such service, as his Christian Majestie should direct us, according to the agreement with the King my Master; but nothing would satisfie him but to have her delivered over to him, which if I did not presently, my head should pay for it. I desired his patience for two or three daies, till I had written and sent to your Grace, and that he would let me have a Shallop for that purpose; but he denied both the one and the other; notwithstanding sent away a Barque himself with one to your Grace, but would not suffer me to send thereby, which made me the more jealous of the real intent of the businesse. The 23. he sent your Lordships Secretarie aboard to work and perswade me, but I could not give other answer, then I had done formerly, only that I would attend until I heard farther from your Grace; though I must confesse I had much ado to perswade my Company, who were very unwilling to it. But I had hope still to have a more ample Order how to proceed in this great and weighty businesse. And upon the 24. at two of the clock in the morning, Mr. *Ingham* (whom I sent from *Stokes Bay* to your Grace) returned unto me with two Letters, one from your Grace, and another from my Lord *Conway*, the former part of both commanding me to put your former Commands in execution: but the latter part prohibiting me to depart with my charge, gave me the more courage to stand upon my former terms.

This day your Graces Secretarie came aboard me again, after I had sent your Graces Letter to him, being sent by the Embassadour to prosecute the businesse, for the deliverie of the ship unto them. But after I had shewed him, that part of your Graces Letter, he knew not what to say to it. I willed him to tell the Embassadour, that this



Letter was nothing but an answer of mine written from *Stoken Bay*, concerning the not coming of the rest of the ships. I further offered his Lordship this day for the more expedition of the businesse, to take 150 of his men aboard, and to run over for the Coast of *England*, and to send presently to your Grace, that we were ready to surrender over there, upon an authentique Warrant from his Majestie, or your Grace. His answer to this was, That he would not put his men in to be prisoners, nor that we should be the major part. I then offered him to take in as many French as I had English man for man, but without arms, yet nothing would satisfie him, but the possession of the Ship, either by delivering of her over into their hands, or by receiving 400 armed men aboard, wherewith they would quickly have taken her from us, as you may plainly see their intent by their proceeding. Which I refusing to do, this night about ten of the clock, he sent his Secretarie aboard with three or four others to make a protestation against me, as a Rebel to my King and Countrey, as you may perceive by the Copie of it, which I send your Grace herewith, and this he said was the last he would have to do with me, for that on the morrow, he would away for *Paris*. Whereupon the next morning I sent this Gentleman Mr. *Ingham* unto him to know, what farther service he would command me, and whether he would have me attend his pleasure longer here, for that I was ready to go upon any service they would command according to the former agreement, and to receive as many men aboard as possibly I could; but he said he had nothing to do except I would either deliver up the ship, or take in the 400. Souldiers. In the interim came his Secretarie, with the same company he had before, and made another protestation against me, in regard I would not take in his 400. men, and therewithal brought me a Letter from your Graces Secretarie, (for he is so jealous that he will not suffer him to come aboard but when he listeth) which Letter was, That the Embassadour would stay till Thursday next, if I would give it him under my hand to deliver up the ship then, if I had not order to the contrary before, which I had as good have done at the present; for I expect no Letters from your Grace, in regard they would not suffer me to write to you, as I desired. And if your Grace should write to me by his messenger, they would be sure not to deliver them, till the day were past, except such as were for their turn.

In all which your Grace may see their intents, that there hath been no flights or wayes left unassayed to bring their purpose to passe: first by fair words, then by seeking to get me become the French Kings

Kings servant, with promises of a great Pension, and brave employment, with offers of good sums to be laid down upon the surrender of the ship as aforesaid. And when none of these courses could prevail with me, then followed their threatnings of having my head, and such like. All which (I thank God) I have withstood; for I had rather live all my life with bread and water, then betray my King and Country of so precious a Jewel as this; and had rather the King should take my life, then to have a hand in the surrender, or valuing of such a Bulwark of the Kingdom.

Upon the making of the last Protest,\* and with the threats they gave us, my Company grew into such a fury and tumult, that they got up their Anchors, and set sail for England, without acquainting me with it, or order from me, saying, They would rather be hanged at home, then surrender the Kings Ships, or be slaves to the French, or fight against those of the Religion. But I must confesse, I heard what they were a doing, but let them alone, because I saw they had reason; otherwise, I should rather have died amongst them, then to have suffered it.

And thus I have related the principal passages unto your Grace, wherein, if I have offended his Majestie, or your Grace, it hath been for want of discretion, and not of true zeal to do his Majestie, your Grace, and my Countrey service, which if it be found to be an offence, I humbly crave pardon.

I am now come to an anchor in the Downs, where I shall attend your Grace's farther pleasure, to be disposed of as his Majestie, and your Grace shall please. But to return again to *France*, I can assure your Grace, that all the people in the ship will rather be hanged then do it, they have been so well used there. Thus praying for your Graces many happie and prosperous daies, I humbly rest

Your Graces most humble, and faithful servant,

From aboard the  
Vanguard in the  
Downs, 27. July.  
1625.

*Jo. Pennington.*

*Captain*

*Captain Pennington to the Duke.**May it please your Grace,*

**T**O take into your Consideration these particulars following:  
 First, That there is no clause in the contract for our quiet enjoying, and celebrating our Divine service to God morning and evening, according to the ancient order of the Seas.

Secondly, That they may bring as many of their own Nation aboard as they will, and they speak of putting in as many French as English, which will amount to 500. in all, which the ship is neither able to carry, neither will it be for the health of those that go in her, or safety of the ship to his Majestie. All which I desire may be considered of, and a course settled with the Embassadour of the just number I shall receive aboard.

Thirdly, That we are bound to fight against any Nation, that they command us, except our own; which you may likewise please to consider of.

Fourthly, That there is no Clause for the supply of the Victuals, and other provisions before the six moneths be expired, so that they may keep us till that time, and then turn us off naked and destitute of all provisions to be a prey to our enemies.

Fifthly, That we may know where we shall receive our supplies of powder, and other munition from them, for that the three last, which we have in here, with the appurtenance, is not sufficient to maintain a fight of three hours.

The former five Articles I humbly desire your Grace judiciously to consider of; and what your Grace will have me therein perform, may be inserted in my instructions.

Now further I humbly desire your Grace;

First, That all we English may be of a Squadron, and not separated upon any occasion, the accidents of the Sea excepted, and that we may be ready at all times to ayd and assist one another.

Secondly, That I may have power in my instructions, or otherwise, for the command of the rest of the English that go along with me, if not, every man may take his course, and do what liketh him best, which may prove prejudicial to the service, dishonourable to the State, and dangerous for the safety of his Majesties ship.

Lastly, I humbly desire, that your Grace will be pleased to give order, that there may be some provision of Cloathes laid in for naked men, (whereof there are many in the ship) as hose, shoes, and shirts

*Mr. Trumbal to the Secretarie.*

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shirts (at least.) As also some provision of store for sick men, of Oatmeal, Rice, Sugar, and fruit, and some little stock of money, to relieve them if necessitie require it. It may afterwards be deducted out of their wages, if your Grace will have it so.

Your Graces Loyal, and faithful servant  
ever to be commanded,

*To. Pennington.*

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*Mr. Trumbal to the Secretarie.*

*Right Honourable,*

**W**ith my former dated the 11<sup>th</sup>. of this moneth, I sent your Honour two Letters for his Majestie, and promised by my next to write unto your Honour at large, about the matter they did contain.

In performance whereof, and for the discharge of my dutie, I will now desire permission hereby freely to deliver my mind, for so much as is yet come to my knowledge, and I judge meet to be committed to paper concerning the same. And seeing this Packet is to be sent by an expresse Messenger, and a \* person of trust, I will for \* *Mr. Carew* your Honours greater ease abstain from the use of a Cipher.

After I had been at *Lovain*, and *Antwerp* to take some depositions for the discovering of the authours and correctors of that most pernicious Libel, *Corona Regia*, (as by a dispatch to the late Mr. Secretarie *Lake* I did advertize his Majestie,) there came unto me a certain person, living about this Town, going by the name of *Nicholas de Laken*, and brought me the Packet, which a good while since I sent to your Honour. Amongst other things, he told me, that heretofore by accident, he fell into the company of a Cannon of *Lovain*, with whom he had some speech about that divelish book, and that if I would send thither, he was very confident, he should penetrate farther by his private industrie in the space of a few dayes into the mysterie then I had been able to do in the compasse of divers years, with my publike information.

Here upon to make a tryall, and desiring to imploy *Le ser et Le verd*, for the manifesting of a truth, which I knew his Majestie so much longed to understand, I furnished him with mony, and some instructions.



structions, and sent him to *Lovain*. At the end of six or seven dayes, he returned from thence, and as his own letters do testify, and (he hath protested with many oaths) he avouched to me, that he had discovered that secret to the very bottom. I inquired of him, by what meanes? He made answer by the help of the said Canon, and some young Schollars his countrie men, Students, in that universitie, who had brought him to the acquaintance of a certain Italian living there, that had served the author of the book both while he did compose it, and while it was in printing. He averreth also that *Putenius*, and some others, had their fingers in that unsavorie Pye. And he saith, that when I began to make search for those persons, which had done his Majestie that intollerable wrong, that the principal authour, and *Flavius* the Printer were secretly warned, to get them out of this country, and had some meanes given them to maintain them abroad. He affirmeth likewise, that both of them ever since that time, have remained, and are at this present remaining out of the territories of the Archdukes. That he hath often seen the sayd authour in this Citty, and knoweth his name, and Surname, and his person so well, as no change of his apparrel, nor disguising of his body, can cause him to mistake or be deceived. By his report, that party is no Clergie man, though he be a good Schollar, and reputed to have an excellent Latin pen. But those commendable qualities, are drowned by his greater vices, he being much addicted to lewde women, and unsatiable drinking. He is now (by this mans information) resident in a town upon the Frontiers of Germany, And as for *Flavius*, he can (if he truly) declare where he lurketh, and assureth me, that his wife is at a place within ten leagues of this town. The Cannon that did oversee the presse, and withdrew the leaves of this booke, as they were printed, is called (as he heard) Mr. *Claud.* and dwelleth at *Nostre Dame de Halles*, whither I purpose to send him this Easter holidiaies to make farther inquirie. More then these, and some other particulars (which are so transcendent, as I dare neither believe, nor set them down in writing) he will not impart unto me, until he be assured of his Majesties protection, by a Letter under his hand, and a competent reward for his labours. And the reason he alledgeth therefore is, that if once it be known, he did meddle in this matter, there can be no more safety for him to continue in these provinces. He doth further undertake, that in case his Majestie will be pleased to grant him his demands, allow mony for the expences of the journey, and give him two persons of courage, and fidelity to accompanie him, he will either lose his life, or put the sayd author

into

into their hands who may carry him (as he thinketh) with little danger, either into the Pallatinate, or the united Provinces. Hereupon I guesse, that (if this report be well grownded) that wicked fellow must be in, or near about the town of *Cullen*. I cannot amongst all those of my acquaintance, and his Majesties subjects here call to mind any one so fit for this interprize, as the Gentleman whose name is written in CIPHER in my letter to his Majestie. For he is universally well spoken of for his honestie, and other good Parts, and in sundry occasions hath given good testimony of his ardent desire to do his Majestie some remarkeable and meritorious service. And his sufficiency being better known to his Majestie then to my self, I will not commend it any further. The want of imployment and some disgustes he received in Holland, while he served there, compelled him by necessity to looke for preferment under the King of Spain. But hitherto his religion, the respect he beareth to his Majestie, and my perswasions, have detained him from those Courses. By him I am told, that he hath heard out of the mouths of ope Captain *Carpentine*, and his son in law Captain *Hamilton*, pencioners to the King of Spain (but subjects to his Majestie, that they being one day walking in a street at *Antwerp* called the Major Brugg (where they reside) with 4. or 5. others in their companie, and there happening some speech amongst them, about a book his majestie had then published against the Pope, it fell out that one of them apprehending that opportunity said, that he had subject enough to furnish a book which should more vex the King of great Brittain, then his Majesties book could offend his Holinesse, and if he could meet with a Schollar, that were able to put it into a method, and good latine, he would be ready to perform his word. Another of the troop made answer, that he would undertake the work upon that condition, and they both (for a great whiles after) were absent at *Lovain*, even about the same time that the Libel was forged. Perhaps some part of this, may draw neer to the verity. But they both depending upon the King of Spain (as is before mentioned) and being averse in religion, I am much afraid, I shall do little good upon them by examining them before the Arch Dukes Commissioners, seeing they may delude me, and the truth with equivocation, and mental reservation. Although he conceiveth, that if they were called before a judge, and summoned upon their oathes to speake the truth, they would not refuse to discharge their consciences. I have seriously intrated him to bestow his best indeavour in attempting what he can further learn about this relation, and he hath accepted to perform my request.

The said Gentleman from whom I had it is not willing to be brought publicly upon the Stage, for this businesse, lest thereby he should incur the note of an informer, then which nothing is, or can be more odious in these parts. Nevertheless he hath promised (if his Majestie like to have it so, and will be pleased to give commandement for it) to justifie what is before rehearsed to their faces.

Whether both these parties encounter upon one, and the same authour, or understand them to be divers men, I can neither judge, nor fortell: yet it seemeth that one of them may hit on the right. And as I will not spare any paines, charges, nor peril whatsoever to bring the parent of this child of darkenesse into the light, so I hope his Majestie (whose cause it is) will not refuse to hazard a little money to give himself satisfaction.

These things having passed in this manner, I humbly beseech your Honour at a fit opportunity, when the King is alone to acquaint him with these particulars, and intreat his Majestie to keep them secret; for I am of opinion (being spoken under humble correction, and without offence) that had not his Majestie by communicating this businesse at the first to *Monsieur Borscho*, given him means to advertize it to his wife (who by tatling divulged it, and foyled the way) we had never been put to half this trouble, but had taken *Flavins*, in the form, and by him discovered the authour. My intention is not, that his Majestie should be induced to put 2000. Pistols (or the summe that shall be allotted *Laken*) into his hands, before the service be done; but that his Majestie would vouchsafe (if he approve the project) to cause so much money, as in his profound wisdom, he shall think meet for this occasion to be forthwith remitted to me by Mr. *John More*, by the meanes of Mr. *Duckes*, a Marchant dwelling in Milk street in London, to be repayed at *Antwerp* by Mr. *Lionel Wake* trading there, or by the companie of our English Marchants at *Middleborough* in *Zealand* in the name of reward for service done, or to buy Tapestries, or lianen for his Majestie. And I will either return it back again by exchange, if this design cannot be effected, or default the remains thereof upon my entertainment. All that I would venture in this case, should only be for those mens necessary expences that are to be employed therein; and that also I would have not to exceed, but to be limited within the compasse of 200. pounds sterling.

By apprehending these men, the Arch-Dukes cannot take any just occasion

occasion of offence against his Majestie or his Ministers, seeing one of them is not their Vassal, and both are out of their Dominions.

It may (for these Considerations) please your Honour to advise with his Majestie, whether it be fitter to proceed herein *Via facti*, or *Via juris*: to send *Laken* to seek out the Author and others to apprehend him, or the Printer, or upon promise of a reasonable recompence for his pains, to deal with him effectually to declare their names, and habitations, and afterwards leave it to his Majesties gracious and Princely pleasure to prosecute or let fall his action. In either of which kind, I will yield humble obedience to his Majesties Commands, and your Honours directions, as things to my self indifferent. But I am doubtful, that by continuing of the course formerly holden in the carriage of this businesse, we shall never attain our desired ends. I am not so slight as to give credit to all reports, nor so prodigal as to part with money for nothing.

My most humble and earnest suit is, that his Majestie, and your Honour after mature deliberation upon the several points of this Letter, will vouchsafe to send me by my servant *Marshall* (who is now at *London*) particular, and distinct answers for my better direction. I have been the more prolix upon this subject, in hope that this I have written shall serve once for all.

In that matter concerning the Countesse of *Argile*, which it pleased your Honour to recommend unto my Care, I have done as much already as I can for the present. We must of necessitie with a little patience expect the successe, whereof your Honour shall in due time be punctually advertized. In the mean while, I do with all reverence, desire your Honour to excuse the tediousnesse of this Letter; And so take my leave,

Your Honours very humble, and  
ready to be commanded,

*Bruxels*  $\frac{22}{11}$  of

March, 1618

*W. Trumbal,*



*Mr. Trumball to the Secretarie.*

*Right Honourable,*

**T**Hose that are employed in such place as I am, must admit all manner of men into their company. And the Oath I have taken to his Majestie, will not permit me to conceal any thing from his knowledge that cometh to mine, and may in any sort have relation to his Royal service. For these Considerations I assume the boldnesse so soon to renew your Honours trouble, after the dispatch of those Volumes of Letters which I sent you yesterday by one of my servants.

This Bearer *de la Forrest* is better known to your Honour, then to my self, although I remember many years ago to have seen him in England. During his stay in this Town, he brought unto me a certain *French Gentleman*, calling himself the Viscount of *L'orme*, and Sir *De la Pommeraye*; who hath (by his own relation) been a great Navigator, and been authorized by 18. of the chief Pyrats in the *Levant*, to search for their pardon, and retreat into some Christian Countrey, being sorry for the ill they have done, and desirous to spend the rest of their daies in peace. With this Commission he came into France, and there travelled so far with the King and his Ministers, as he obtained a general abolition for the said Pyrates, a safe Conduct to bring them into his Dominions, and a procuration (which I have seen under the great Seal of France) to treat, and conclude with them upon certain conditions. But he being envied by some *Grandeers* of that Kingdom, and by misfortune happening to kill a man, he was forced (as he pretendeth) for the safety of his life to flie into these Countries, before he could bring that work to perfection.

And being now disenabled to return thither again, he desireth to make a tryal, whether his Majestie will vouchsafe to lend his ear to that Treatie, and grant unto the said Pyrates a general Pardon. To which effect, he fendeth over *La Forrest*, and hath intreated me to accompany him with my Letters to my Lord Admiral, your Honor, and Mr. Secretarie *Calvert*. For retribution of this grace, the said Pyrates offer to give 45000 l. sterling to be shared amongst you three, or to be disposed of as his Majestie shall appoint. But your Honour may see the Conditions proposed to the French King were more advantageous: For they were to give him their Ships, Artillerie, and

Munition,

Munition, and to furnish means to set out some men of War for his service.

And I see no reason (in case his Majestie should encline to such capital offenders, and common enemies) why he should not have as much, or more benefit then another Prince, the greatest part of them being his Vassals.

Your Honour if you please may peruse these adjoynd Papers, and impart the contents of them to my Lord Admiral. They agree with their Originals; and if his Majestie do not taste this overture, there is no more harm done (for any thing I can perceive) then the losse of my labour to peruse and subscribe them.

There remaineth onely two points, wherein I should speak to your Honour, the one is, that this matter may be concealed from the French Embassadour *Monsieur le Comte de Tilliers*, for fear of ruining de *L'Orme*. The other with gratifying *La Forrest* with the pay of a Pacquet (if your Honour shall think it meet) for the carrying of these Letters, who saith your Honour is his great Patron, and hath promised him a good turn.

*Monsieur de L'Orme* hath given him power to sollicite this business, and procure him an answer; wherein I joyn my humble prayer, that the poor man may not here languish in hopes, and spend his money to no purpose.

When I shall know whether his Majestie will relish this overture, or not, I will write thereof more largely (if there be cause) otherwise let it remain as it was before. In the mean while, I humbly take my leave; And rest

Your Honours

In all humbleness to be  
commanded,

Bruxels 23. of Octob.

W. Trumbal.

1619.

Sir Thomas Roe to the Marquesse of Buckingham  
Lord Admiral.

My Lord,

I Can give your Lordship no great account of any thing that hath occurred since my departure. I was bold to write to Mr. Secretarie Calvert from *Maliga* of the great increas of the Pyrates in those Seas, and of the danger of the Merchants; with my own thoughts, if his Majestie have any farther purpose to attempt their destruction, which is both honourable and necessarie; if these Trades, or the other of *Spain* to the South of the *North Cape* be of any consequence to his Majesties Kingdomes; if they be suffered to increase, they will brave the Armies of Kings at Sea in a few years, and attempt even the Coasts and Shoares with peril. And because they carry the name only of Thieves, they are yet contemned, or neglected; but they will become a dangerous enemy, when they shall rob with Fleets, and therefore would be in time considered. The Spaniards now make great offers to continue the Contract, though their performance be slow, and their own Estates chiefly interested, yet besides the danger and ruine of the Merchant it is considerable, that this Army increasing is at the obedience of the Grand Seignior the common Enemy, who hath no strength but Gallies. I know your Lordship will collect enough out of this without further pressure. The Armado's of *Spain*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, have been in the *Archipelago*, the Turks Forces absent in the black Sea. Yet they have done nothing of consequence, taken a few Carmisales and slaves, and are returned to the Port, where *Don Philibert* of *Savoy Generalissimo* is present, who is made Viceroy of *Sicily*, with absolute power to dispose of all offices, without attendance from *Spain*, which is more then Vice-Re. He hath used me for his Majesties honour with very great respect, as I have in particular advised Mr. Secretarie. Among many courtesies, finding 13. English Captives in the Gallies, I thought it my duty to succour them. His Highnesse at the first instance, to expresse his good affection to my Master, gave them to me all free, which I think is a good work, and not ordinary. I beseech your Lordship, that his Majestie may be pleased to take knowledge of it into *Spain* for the Princes honour, that he may in the like occasion, not think himself neglected.

The advice from *Constantinople* is seconded of the overthrow of the *Turk*. God grant it be true, and yet the pride of the Grand Seignior

is not asswaged, but he threatens a new attempt in the spring. I hope I have hitherto done his Majestie no dishonour, nor can I boast of services; but being under your Lordships protection, I will hope for a good interpretation, beseeching you to present my name to his Majestie, that I be not forgotten in these great distances, wherein my humble fortune hath kept me, and as I have observed your Lordship to be the *Amparo* of those that pretend to virtue and honour, and not to desert them till they have forsaken themselves: So I beseech you take me upon those conditions which cannot shame you, and leave me, when I am other, then

Your Lordships faithfull, and  
honest servant,

*Messina, 7. Dec.  
comb. 1621.*

*Tba. Rec.*

L. R. H. to the Duke of Buckingham.

*My dear Lord,*

I Have since my departure from you used all diligence in the Princes service, and punctually observed all his Commands. Onely with the King I have dealt so freely in my relation of the Prince his carriage, and your extraordinary care of working his content in all points, that I did move him to shed tears in expressing his happinesse for such a son, and likewise his good fortune in having a Favourite, who is framed according to his own heart in all points. Neither have I pressed any thing to injure any farther then my dutie bound me, and my faithfull love to your service, which shall alwaies have a prime place in my heart.

My Lord, there are contrary opinions in Court and City, by the one you are much admired for your noble expressions of true honor, and love to your King, Prince, and Country, with many observations of your special care and zeal to Religion, and your immovable resolution to Contest with all oppositions to the contrary. By the other you are maligned, and they give it out, That you have with your wilfulnesse occasioned these delays, by diverting and changing their waies wherein they had begun to treat: but the falsenesse hereof hath been shewen, and it appears malice without ground, the which, (though heretofore I have told you,) not out of any other end then

to.



to do you service, yet have you so slightly regarded me for it, and so much respected those ill-deserving Great ones, (as if you had intended to receive your enemies into your bosome, and to cast off your faithfullest friends;) yet shall not any usage discourage me from discharging the office of a most loving and zealous affected friend, and servant, yea insomuch, that I will rather displease you, in doing you that faithful service, that both my honour and love obligeth me to, then be silent, and they let you run into apparent danger.

My Lord, amongst the protestants your are divulged (as much as ill disposed ones dare) a Papist. Among the Papists, it is avowed you are the greatest enemy they have. For which reports, I am not troubled, for they have made you the much more pittied, and as highly esteemd, and honoured amongst the most judicious, and best deserving subjects, as any thing could do. And I dare assure you, that since your being at *Madrid* you are much better beloved of all people (who have not ends) then you were before. Noble Lord, I find the King both resolute, and couragious, but wise, and secret, to my own hearts joy, and not to be won upon by the subtil and false policie of any. I made it my humble suit upon my knees, that he would consent to no proposition of this Spanish Embassadour concerning peace or war, till the Princes return. Which suite he tooke well at my hands, and granted. I have told him freely what I observed in Spain, both of their manners, usage, and honestie, and left it to his wisdom to make what use he pleased. His Majestie longs to see the Prince, and you, and so do all the subjects, and will not be satisfied with any thing, but your speedy return. Except you have jealousies put into the Spaniards heads, and prevent the danger, which will be by hastening the marriage with all possible speed; for there are some whose buttons break with venom, that you have got so much honour, and so well deserved of the King and Prince. But you believe me not, but think I speak of Spleen, when God knowes I never bore any to any man, but for your sake. Your most vertuous lady mourns for your absence, and will not be comforted. Your fair Daughter, deserves your staying withall, and your faithful friends and the good of the Kingdom want you most of all.

And for your greater comfort, the King is so reserved in the Princes affaires, as that he neither imparts the busineses of Spain, nor his intents therein to any of his privie Council. Since your patent, the Earl *Marshall* is become a great stranger at the Court. But all men find you so fast revited into the Kings heart that they see it is an impossibility to work you any way displeasure in your absence, and

and therefore forbear to expresse, what willingly they would effect, but find it in vain to go about it. But let not the Kings love to you or their small ability to do you harm, make you too carelesse, or too credulous of those your enemies, lest it give to o great encouragement to them, and too great dishartning to your faithful friends. I am forrie at my being with you at *Madrid* that you durst not impart those secrets, wherein I am sure my faithfulness, and love unto you, would have done you all service (as the thing I most desire) but I see the zeale of my heart to you, is not rightly considered, yet am I confident that time will make me best known, and better esteemed by you as one whose true heart, is alwayes watchful of taking all opportunities to do you service. My Lord, you shall find me not only a word-friend, but an active, who never am better pleased, then when I find most opposition. And for conclusion, I am so far from shunning dangers to do you service, as that I would willingly wade in blood at any time to manifest my self yours. And therefore I should receive great content, if you knew, how truly I were yours, because then I am sure in the Noblenesse of your nature, it would be impossible for any to be able to do me wrong in your Honourable thoughts. My dear Lord, pray suffer no longer delays in Spain, but either dispatch what you went for quickly, or else return speedily; for assure your self, their desire to have you continue there, is for no love to you, but to further thereby their own designs elsewhere. Nay I dare justifie it out of my own weak judgment, that the longer you stay, the farther off you shall be from obtaining, what you desire. And if you resolutely purpose your return with speed, you will force them out of their dull pace, and put them upon the rock, from which they cannot escape, except they fulfil your desires. Besides, your presence is most necessary here for home-affairs, for your absence hath caused too great insolencie in the Court, by such as bear themselves very loftily, and insult very much over yours, especially your poore servant *Mewtis* is much threatned as being yours, and must suffer till you come back. Some other things likewise are otherwise carried in your absence, then would be in your presence, therefore for Gods sake return, but with the Prince, and count delays, denyals. And the longer you stay there, the stronger you make them and your selves the weaker. My Lord of *Bristol* hath a great, and more powerful party in Court, then you imagine, in so much, that I am confident were the King a newter, he would prevail, and I do not much marvail at it, for you trust upon the honour, and justification of all your actions, desirous to make no friends, be-  
Y cause

## L. R. H. to the Duke of Buckingham

cause you need none, but he deales with a great deal of cautelous wisdom, and as he hath wrought into the Kings opinion, by reason of some pleasing services, so hath he into all those, who are about the King, or powerful, that they may better his good services, and smother his bad. Besides the man who is suspitious (as he must needs be) hath far greater care of after-reckonings, how to make fair glosses, then he who doth all things with the avowment of all honour, and the only intent of service to his King, and Country. It grieves me I am not thought worthie to hear from you any word by these last messengers, especially being promised the imployment, from which I was put. Farewell (dear Lord) and the Almighties protection be upon our unmatched Prince, upon whose worth, and brave achievements all eyes are fixed, and the same protection light upon you his right hand, and give you the good fortune, to make as brave a return, as you did voyage thither, to the eternal praise of your future memories. And upon these hopes, I rest happie to think my self

Yours

H. R.

*Sir George Carie to the Marquesse of Buckingham.*

8. December, 1619.

Your Lordship

**V**ill be satisfied, before this of mine will have the happinesse to kisse your noble hands, that the great Mysterie of iniquity in the Star-chamber is now revealed, and as many as could be discerned to have the mark of the beast upon them, have undergone their censure. Some I must confesse, and great fishes too, have broken out of the nett. But that escape must be objected to the errors of some of the pursuers, whose courses in some things were not enough direct to warrant, what otherwise might have been done. And your Lordship who is a good Woodman well knowes, unless the Wind-lace be well carried, the Bowes which stand up can never shoot.

Notwithstanding all the defaults of the meaner Agents, the Court maintaining the honour of their own uprightnesse, and integritie hath with moderation too, (yet such as leaves subject to his Majesty's

To King James, ab ignoto.

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ties mercy to work upon some particulars,) raised in Fine some 130000 l. or thereabouts. If no errors had been committed, (whereupon those Defendants, which escaped, took advantage to be safe) by this which is done, you may imagine what it would have amounted to. For my part, I rejoyce to conceive, how with the shortest of the daies, we are at the worst of our estate, hoping by this means with the return of the Sun, to see some such return of the money, (the riches of his Majesties Treasure, and blood of the Common-Wealth) as that the Exchequer may flow, and the Veins of the State may fill again, and both with the Spring renew their strength, lustre, and complexion. I have now stayed here so long attending this businesse, that I hold it too late to wait upon you at *Newmarket*, That gives me cause to crave your pardon for this presuming imperfect Accompt of this daies action, and withal to desire the assurance, that I live in your estimation, the same, I will ever be

Your Lordships

Most sincerely honest and  
humble servant,

G. Cary.

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To King James, ab ignoto.

Your Majesty,

Both in the eminencie of your regal dignitie, and in the excellencie of your judgment, doth truly represent the common sense, whose part it is to judge and discern of all things; whereas the other senses do but report their particular objects. And in that manner do I humbly offer to your Majesties Consideration in this importune *Christs* of the affairs of Christendom, so much as I have observed in *France*, that may now concern your service, in which place I have been, heretofore employed in your affaires.

And first considering the present estate of things in *France*, and weighing against it, the seizure made of the *Valloine* by the King of *Spain*, the late invasion of the *Palatinate*, and now this new defeat arrived in *Bohemia*, I do put this for an infallible ground, that either the King of *France* will resolve out of jealousy of the progressions



of the house of *Austria* effectually to succour the *Palatinate*, or else abandoning the affairs of *Germany* to their own successe, and neglecting the increase of the house of *Austria* on that side, he will think more then to recompence himself, by taking this opportunity to extinguish the body of those of the Religion in *France*. And as undoubtedly he will resolve on one of those two points, so on both of them for sundry reasons he cannot. To move him to the succour of the *Palatinate*, the main motive will be, the jealousie between those two Monarchies, which can never die, so long as they do both subsist in no greater a disproportion of strength and power; As also that *France* shall by their usurpation of the *Palatinate*, be on all sides Circled by the house of *Austria*, and particularly on that part where *France* hath before usurped on the Empire; in which regard his interest of estate is greater then your Majesties in the Conservation of the *Palatinate*, though your personal interest be incomparable with his. Then he cannot but think of the losse of his Correspondencies, and breach of his Confederacies in *Germany*, which have been very ancient, and very particular with the house of the *Palatine*. And if the reason of mutual gratitude; and vindication of injuries, may move Frenchmen, there are plentiful arguments on both kind to move them to defend the House of the *Palatine*, against that of *Austria*. But now on the other side to move him against those of the Religion at home, first doth present it self, his successful beginning against them in the businesse of *Bearn*, then which nothing could be more unjust, both in regard of the matter it self, and of his own faith, and promise; and of the desert of those of the Religion towards him, in these late troubles, nor could any thing be more suddenly, or violently (I do not say cruelly) executed, then that was. And again the present tears, wherein that King, and those of the Religion do stand, will push him on. Then there will not want to this purpose, the powerful perswasions of the Pope, and his adherents, both by propounding overtures to lay asleep the jealousies of the house of *Austria*, and offering huge summes towards the charge of the War, which if he should attempt, and prevail therein, it would prove of far greater prejudice for many reasons that may be given in the interest of Estate, to your Majestie, though not in the interest of your affection, then the losse of the *Palatinate*.

What may in *France* be resolved upon these motives, is uncertain.

But I do conceive hereupon, that it may be useful for your Majesties service effectually to propound in *France*, a Confederacie for the

the Conservation of the Palatinate, to which if they do hearken, your Majestie shall proceed in that design with greater strength and reputation, and occasion the King of *Spain* to proceed with greater remissenesse, or else absolutely to relinquish the Palatinate by a Treaty. But if in France it be not hearkened to, your Majestie may take it for an assured argument, that they mean to proceed against those of the Religion, in which case your Majestie may make use of the same Embassage to revive again some of their factions in the Court, whereby those of the Religion may be strengthened in their defence, and it will not be hard to effect, if it be well proceeded in. And herein doth properly offer it self the person of the Duke of *Bevillon*, who for his great experience and wit, and intelligence in that Court, is best able to guide and further your Majesties intentions; and for his interest in the person of the *Palatine*, and in the conversation of those of the Religion, doth precisely square with your Majesties ends, whose advice you may first suddenly and secretly enquire.

&c.

*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke, 10. December,*

1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

THE Arch-Duke *Don Carlos*, brother to the Emperour, made his entrie into this Town on the 15<sup>th</sup>. of the last moneth, *Stil. Ver.* He was met by the Almirante of *Castile* two daies journey from this place, who went from hence well accompanied, and attended by many Liveries richly set forth. Some 400. paces without a Gate of this Town called *Alcala*, the Arch-Duke was received by the two Infants *Don Carlos* and the Cardinal, and about 200 paces without the said Gate by the King himself, who came attended with the greatest part of this Court, and in his Coach accompanied with the Duke of *Newbergh*, and the *Conde of Olivarez*. The King lighted out of his Coach to receive the Arch-Duke, and some complements being past between them, returned into his Coach, and set the Arch-Duke by him on his left hand; in the other end of the Coach set the two Infants; in one boot the Duke of *Newbergh*, and the *Conde of Olivarez*; and in the other the Emperours Embassadour, and the Almirante; the Almirante taking place of the Embassadour. Being come to the Palace,

Palace, the King accompanied the Arch-Duke to the Queens Quarter, where his Majestie left him to be conveyed from thence to his own Quarter (which is the same was given to the Prince his Highnesse at his being in this Court,) by the Infants his Brothers, as he was, having finished his complements with the Queen, and the Infanta *Dona Maria*. There were preparations here making for the honouring his reception with several feasts, and entertainments after their manner here. But these have been stopped by the Arch-Dukes sicknesse, who felt himself indisposed the day after his arrival, and applying some Physicall remedies by the advice of a Physitian which he brought along with him, his distemper increased, and as it is pretended by these Physicians by a wrong course held with him. What hath been the true cause of his infirmity, I leave to be disputed by them; He hath been held divers dayes with a terrible Calenture, which proved at last a *Tabardillo*, whereupon there was little hope conceived of his life; but he hath since received some ease, and is now in a good way of amendment. In respect of the Emperours unworthy proceedings with the King our Master, I have not dared to visit him, untill I shall have notice of his Majesties pleasure therein, which I shall be glad to understand from your Grace.

Since the expiring of the Truce betwixt this Crown and the *Hollanders*, this King hath given License to divers Port Towns on the Coasts of *Biscay* to arm out what ships they shall think good, and to make prize to their own particular benefit of what they shall light upon belonging to the enemies of this Crown: by which meanes it is here hoped, That these Coasts will be much the better secured from the daily pillages of the Holland men of War, and the Turkish Pyrates. For the advancing whereof upon request made of those of *Sevil*, there is License given unto them to arm what men of War they can find means. The Duke of *Maqueda* likewise with leave hath lately set forth six ships which are abroad in Pyracie.

There is advice given hither, that the Duke of *Brandenbergh* hath given his consent to the conferring of the Electoral dignitie upon the Duke of *Bavaria*, which I can hardly believe, though I find it assured from very good hands.

The Duke of *Newbergh* remains still in this Court, and presses to carry a cleer resolution in his busineses from hence; but for any thing I can yet learn his negotiation remains in the same estate as I advertised in my last to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*.

The Armada prepared in *Portugal* for the recovering of *Brasil* is gon to Sea, and whereas, they were to have stayed at the *Cape St. Vincent*

*Vincens* for the Armado of Castile, upon advice, that is given hither, that the *Hollanders* in *Brussel* are not able to make any resistance of consideration, they have order to proceed in their journey. Twenty ships of war, and 4000. land Souldiers (which is the force of that Fleet) being here held sufficient for that enterprize. The Armado in *Cadix* is not yet departed, but hath her men aboard, and there is daily expectation of newes that it is gone to Sea. The Duke of *Saxonia* having received letters from the King our Master, and the King of *Denmark*, sent presently coppies of them unto the Emperour, with his answers unto their Majesties, and accompanied them with a letter of his own unto the Emperour. All which the Emperour sent unto the King. The carriage of the Duke is much esteemed here, for having given (as I am informed) by his Letters unto the King our Master, and the King of *Denmark* such an answer as they are here much satisfied withal. Notwithstanding in this Letter to the Emperour with many reasons, and much instance, he advises him to apply himself to the settling of the peace in *Germany*, and expressing much affection to the composing of the affaires of the Prince Palatine doth earnestly intreat his Majestie not to destroy that ancient house. In the mean time the Duke of *Bavaria* uses all diligence to combine himself with this Crown, and now doth offer to cast off all other thoughts of leagues, and to depend wholly upon Spain, so that this King will protect him in his Electoral dignity, and what he hath lately possessed himself of in those parts. This offer of the Dukes hath been several dayes debated in Councel, where the Marquesse *Tuviska* hath been busie in the behalf of the Duke: but the wiser part of this Councel seeing how prejudicial, the increase of the Dukes greatnesse may prove to the Empire, do no way favour his pretentions. They likewise hold fit to continue the state of things in a possibility of an accommodation without our Master.

The Arch-Duke *Don Carlos* hath brought power from the Emperour to proceed to the consummation of a marriage betwixt the Emperours son and the Infanta *Donna Maria*, wherein he sayes, he hath nothing to Capitate, but brings them a blanck paper, and hath power, and order to confirm what conditions they shall here set down. The Emperours Embassadour doth much presse to proceed to the Capitulations, but there is yet nothing done. The Infanta of *Brussels* hath lately written hither, importing this King to admit of a treaty of marriage betwixt the Prince of *Polonia*, and the Infanta his Sister, extolling with many expressions the worth, and parts of that Prince.

There e



There hath been some moneths a general stop of their proceedings here in all suites of English Merchants depending in this Court; but I have at last procured a *juncto* to be assigned for the hearing of all English Causes, wherein I am promised there shall be a speedy Resolution taken of whatsoever is at present in Question.

The Duke of *Feria* hath lately advertised hither from *Millain*, that the French King, and the Duke of *Savoy* do minister much occasion of jealousy, that they intend to attempt some novelty in those parts, and doth therefore desire, that his Troops may be augmented; whereupon (above the ordinary charge) there was instantly remitted unto him 2000. Duckets.

The great annual *Assiento* which this King makes with the *Canonets* is newly concluded, it is for 7. millions, whereof 4. are remitted for *Flanders*, to be paid by monethly portions.

In a late meeting of the Council of State upon a discourse that passed amongst them, taking into consideration this Kings wants, and the present distemper of his affairs, the Inquisidor General expressing how necessary a time it was for his Majesties Subjects to assist his present occasions, made offer of 100 Duckets for his part, which the *Conde* of *Olivares* followed with a tender of 300; the *Conde* of *Montarrey* of 100; all the rest of the Council of State following their example gave according to their quality. Notice being taken of this abroad, the *Condestable* wrote a Letter unto this King, wherein he made tender of 200 Duckets, the *Marquesse* of *Castel Rodrigo* of 100, the *Marquesse* of *Carpio* of the like summe. Divers others have likewise declared themselves in this donative, and it is hoped that it will go over the whole Kingdome, and bring in an extraordinary Treasure into the Kings purse. Thus with the remembrance of my duty, I rest

Your Graces, &c.

W. A.

Archbishop

*Archbishop Abbots to Secretarie Nanton,*  
12. Septemb. 1619.

*Good Mr. Secretarie,*

I Have never more desired to be present at any Consultation, then that which is this day to be handled, for my heart, and all my heart goeth with it. But my Foot is worse then it was on Friday, so that by advice of my Physitian, I have sweat this whole night past, and am directed to keep my bed this day.

But for the matter, my humble advice is, That there is no going back, but a countenancing of it against all the world; yea so far as with ringing of Bells, and making of Bon-fires in *London*, so soon as it shall be certainly understood that the Coronation is past. I am satisfied in my Conscience, that the Cause is just, wherefore they have rejected that proud and bloody man, and so much the rather, because he hath taken a course to make that Kingdom not elective, but to take it from the donation of another man. And when God hath set up the Prince that is chosen to be a mark of honor through all Christendom to propagate his Gospel, and to protect the oppressed, I dare not for my part give advice but to follow where God leads.

It is a great honour to the King our Master, that he hath such a Son, whose virtues have made him thought fit to be made a King. And me thinks I do in this, and that of *Hungary* foresee the work of God, that by piece and piece the Kings of the earth, that gave their power unto the beast, (all the Word of God must be fulfilled) shall now tear the Whore and make her desolate, as St. *John* in his Revelation hath foretold. I pray you therefore with all the spirits you have to put life into this businesse, and let a return be made into *Germany* with speed, and with comfort, and let it really be prosecuted, that it may appear to the World that we are awake when God in this sort calleth us.

If I had time to expresse it, I could be very angry at the shuffling which was used toward my Lord of *Doncaster*, and the slighting of his Embassage so, which cannot but touch upon our Great Master who did send him, and therefore I would never have a Noble Sonne forsaken, for respect of them who truly aym at nothing but their own purposes.

Our striking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, will honour the *Palsgrave*, will strengthen the Union, will bring on the States of the Low Countries, will stirre up the King of *Denmark*, and will move

*The Lord Brook to the Duke.*

his two uncles the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Bevillon*, together with *Tremoville* (a rich Prince in France) to cast in their shares. And *Hungarie* as I hope (being in that same cause) will run the same fortune; for the meanes to support the war, I hope *Providebit Deus*. The Parliament is the old, and honourable way, but how assured at this time I know not, yet I will hope the best; certainly if countenance be given to the action, many brave spirits will voluntarily go. Our great Master in sufficient want of mony, gave some ayde to the Duke *Savoy*, and furnished out a prettie army in the cause of *Cleve*. We must trie once again what can be done in this businesse of a higher nature, and all the mony that may be spared is to be turned that way. And perhaps God provided the Jewels that were layd up in the Tower to be gathered by the Mother for the preservation of her Daughter, who like a noble Princeesse hath professed to her Husband not to leave her self one Jewel rather then not to maintain so religious, and righteous a cause. You see that lying on my bed I have gone too far, but if I were with you this should be my language, which I pray you humbly and heartily to represent to the King my Master, telling him, that when I can stand, I hope to do his Majestie some service herein. So commending me unto you, I remain

Your very loving friend,

*Geo. Cant.*

*The Lord Brook to the Duke, 11. November,  
1623.*

*May it please your Grace,*

Of *Spain* we hear, the world comes so fast after you (since your departure,) as we assure our selves this great work is at a good end, with contentment to our blessed Prince, and like a Princely treaty, with addition of honour to the Monarchie, he intends to match with.

But Sir, we hear of a new treaty sprung up between the *Passagraves* Eldest son and the Emperours youngest Daughter. A Labrynth into which, what hope soever leades us, I fear no one thread will be able to guide us well out. Because in the passages between these far distant Princes education of children seemes like to be demand-  
ed.

ed, Ballancing of Councils to the jealousy of friends, Question whether the Palatinate shall be delivered in the Nonage before marriage, or after. Then whether sequestred into a Catholique, or Protestant hands. If into a Catholique, a probable argument that both it, and the *Valentine* are equally reserved free to fall with associated forces upon our antient Bulwark the *Nether-Lands* at pleasure. Lastly whether the Myter, and these Scepters thus united, with their advantage in number of swords, and Deskes abroad, their new springing partie at home, strengthens by sea and land, Constant ambition of adding Crown, to Crown, and perfect Audit of their neighbours powers, and humors (even while the second Heire male of this Kingdom shall live in the hands of enemies, and strangers) I say whether these will not prove fearful inequalities, casual to the lives of our King and Prince, dangerous to the Crown by changing successive rights into tenures of Courtesie, and charging of the peoples consciences with visions of confusion or bondage.

Again (Sir) admit this new project should vanish into smoak as undigested vapours use to do, yet give me leave to question, whether to your Grace you have overtly protested against the intricate Courses of the Spaniard, even the specious issue of the Palatinates delivery before consummation of marriage, but not like to prove Mother of many Colourable and unavoydable delays. Because, suppose the proposition should be granted, yet who sees not that the effecting of it will prove an act of so many parts. Viz: the Pope, Emperour, King of Spain, Duke of of *Bavaria* &c. and of so great consequence joyntlie, and severally to them all, and must of necessity require divers assemblies, commissions, perchance Dietts &c. And then what time the execution of the Minutes under these Heads will demand, he that knowes the divers natures of Nations in treating may easily conceive.

To begin with the least; what money or other conditions can be offered like to satisfie the honour, humour, and huge expence of the *Bavarian*, for quitting his Conquest so so unreconcilable a neighbour: and if there be possibility, yet out of whose estate or treasury are these conditions, or large proportions of Dowrie probably to be expected? touching the Emperour; Is there any forraign alliance able to perswade this Prince, who having by an untimely war, changed all tenures of Election into succession, and thereby shaken the antient freedom of our *Germany* Princes, what I say can in likelihood winn him to restore these dead forces of his Enemies, to the prejudice



prejudice of all he enjoys, or aspires. Besides what shall move this Emperour to take away the Bann from the *Pallegaves* person, who hath so desparately hazarded not only his own private Kingdomes, and Provinces, but by his undertaking, waved the main ambition of of the *Austrian* familie. For the Spanish King if he be prest, his answer will be ready and fair, that he hath no right in him (but mediation) as appears by the divisions already made. Notwithstanding how little right soever pretends, yet his Council, his instruments, his charge, by diversion, *Overs Ayde*, insensible succours (the world sees) have been used in all these wars; so as this together with his right by strong hand gotten (and kept by arts of depositing) upon the *Voltaire* may lead us to discern clearly, that he finds the passage of his forces through them, equal, and so resolves both, to over-run the Low countries when he please. Against which little State (whether out of revenge, or ambition of greater conquests by them, he will constantly carry a warchfull and Grippingenemies hand.

Concerning the Pope, who knowes not that his universal affected supremacie (howsoever dissembled) yet hath, doth and ever will urge his Holinesse to stir up colourable Warres of Religion. Since Warres, Contentions, and tumults among Princes have been his old way of adding more wealth, and power to his sanctified Sea. How I say this new fashion'd Monarch, shall be won to suffer *Heidelberg* (the most dangerous nest of Heretiques after *Geneva*) to return to her former strength is a poynt beyond my Capacity.

By these short, hastie and imperfect images your Grace may yet judg, that except the restitution of the *Palatinate* be instantly pressed (and like a work of Faeries either furnished, or broken off at once) we may easily be over-shot in our own bowes, by having the strengths and free Councils of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* during this treaty kept under a kind of Covert-baron, and so long made a forge for other Princes ends, as my Blessed Sovereigns trust may perchance find it self compelled to play an After-Game, amongst discouraged friends, and combination of powerful enemies, such as under characters of *Alliance* will think they have won one great Step towards their inveterate Ambition of a Westernne Monarchie.

Noble Duke, If you find me lifted above my earth, in handling a subject to which I am utterly a stranger, yet bear with a Monks humour, in a man that is prisoner to old age. Hide my follie from the eyes

eyes of Critiques. And pardon my freedom that hath wearied you,  
with a mind ever to remain

Your Graces loving Grandchild  
and humble servant,

*Tho. Brook.*

Dr. Balcanquel to Secretarie Nanton,

26. of March.

*Right Honourable,*

**T**He reason why I have not of late written to your Honour, is the  
discontinuance of our Sessions of the Synod this great while;  
but since my last unto your Honour, we have thus spent our time.  
The publique reading of all the Collegial judgments upon the 5.  
Articles was made an end of. In which (God be thanked for it)  
there was a greater harmonie and consent then could almost be hoped  
for, in such variety of learned men, who did not know one of ano-  
thers judgment. The onely difference was in the second Article:  
After that the President, (never asking advice from the Synod) took  
upon him to conceive, and dictate the Canons himself to us; but we  
who were sent by his Majestie, conceiving that course to be altoge-  
ther against the dignity of the Synod, consulted with some of the  
Delegates, who approved our Counsel, and thought it fit, that there  
should be some deputed by the Synod, and joyned to the President  
for conceiving of the Canons, that so whatsoever was done, might  
be done by publique authority. This motion did trouble the Presi-  
dent not a little, who hath all the Provincials at his becke, and some  
of the forraign Divines too, but especially the *Palatines*. Yet there  
was a publique Synode called for this purpose, where the President  
of the Delegates did make a speech, desiring the Synode to depute  
some who joyned with the President and the Assessor, might take  
pains for moulding of the Canons. In the delivering of the voi-  
ces most testified their dislike of this course, and their singular re-  
spect to the Presidents Credit; but *Scutlers* did by many reasons  
approve the course which the President had begun, and disprove this

new

new course, which was suggested, yet he taxed no man personally. But *Sibrandus* (when he came to deliver his voice) like a mad-man, did inveigh against those, who were the suggesters of this change, and said, That strangers should not take upon them to prescribe what was good for the estate of their Church, and that some others who had joyned in that, were worthy to be noted *Censurâ Ecclesiasticâ*: therein he ayimed at the South Holland, who did likewise much dislike the President his Course. *Sibrandus* spake so furiously, that both the *Præses Politicus*, and the *Præses Ecclesiasticus*, desired him either to hold his peace, or else speak that which might not disturb the peace of the Synode. Yet since it was the Delegates pleasure, the whole Synode added to the President, and the Affessours three forraign Divines, viz. my Lord of *Landaff*, *Stukerius*, and *Deodatus*; 3. Provincials, viz. *Poliander*, *Vallans*, and *Triglandius*; who should mould and conceive the Canons upon every Article, and then send a Copie of what they have done to every Colledge, that they may adde power, and change what they will, the Colledges observations being considered by them, and the Canons according to them amended, they are to be returned to the Colledges, and the Colledges to return them again, and so to keep the course ever till there be no exceptions against them. When they are thus agreed upon by all severall Colledges, they shall publicquely be concluded, and approved by the Synode.

We are now hard at polishing the Canons, which these Deputies send us. All our trouble is in the second Article: The most part of the Synode would cry us down with voices for the restriction of the general propositions in Scripture, and the Confessions of the Reformed Churches concerning Christs death, *ad Solos Electos*. We stand for leaving them unexpounded, and unrestricted as we found them, and rejoyce exceedingly, that the Directions which my Lord Embassadour sent us from his Majestie concerning this point, agreeth so fully with our judgment subscribed with our hands, given in to the Synode, upon the second Article. By this doing, we first leave a sound and sufficient ground for preaching of the Gospel to all men. Next we shun a great deal of offence, which otherwise we must needs have given to the *Lutheran* Churches. Thirdly, we retain the same phrases, and forms of speaking which those Fathers did, who wrestled with the *Palagians* in the same point. If this Article be well looked into, I hope there shall moderation enough be observed in all the rest. If it were not for the moderation of the forraign Divines, we should have

have such Canons as I think have not been heard of: for there is never a Provincial Minister here, who hath delivered any rigid Proposition, and hath been taxed by the Remonstrants for it, but he would have that Proposition thrust into one Canon or another, that so he may have something to shew for that which he hath said. As soon as the Canons are agreed upon, I shall by Gods grace with all expedition send them unto your Honour. Our next work will be *Vorsium*, whose book they would censure, without citation of himself. The President wrote to our Colledge in the Delegates name to know, whether we thought it fit to have him personally cited; but especially to know what we thought would be most agreeing to his Majesties mind.

To the latter, concerning his Majesties mind, we answered; That we thought my Lord Embassadour could give them the best resolution for that point.

For the former, we thought it would be evil taken, if any man should be condemned, not being first heard. But because they, that *Vorsium* would keep them as long as the Remonstrants had done; We told them, That we desired they would not suffer him to make any defence, or explications of his blasphemous propositions, but simply to answer *perita vel non*, whether he would plainly absure them, or not; And so accordingly proceed against him, and so we should make no great losse of time; so I think he shall be personally cited.

This is all, for we have had no Synodical meetings these 12. daies. I can see no end of the Synode before *whitsmide*. With my best prayers for your Honours, and the remembrance of all my faithful respects. I take my leave; And am

Your Honours

In all true observance and  
service,

Walter Balcanquel.



Sir William Beecher to his Majestie,

4<sup>th</sup>. of February.

*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

BESIDES the relation of the apparance of change in the affairs of the Court, wherewith my Dispatch to Mr. Secretarie *Lake* will acquaint your Majestie: I thought it my duty to give you particular account, that being yesterday with the Prince of *Fain ville*, after some earnest protestations made to me of his desire to do your Majestie service, falling into discourse of those occurrences, he grew into these terms. That the complaints of the Queen Mother were founded upon good reason; that if she had offended the King, or the State, why did they not make her processe? if she had not offended, why should she not see the King, and her children? that when the Queen fell upon these Complaints, they thought to fright her, by Pretending to bring forth the Prince of *Conde*; but that the Queen had astonished them, by telling them, That she was so far from opposing, as she desired the liberty of the Prince. That the Queens friends would be glad of his liberty, for that it could not be prejudicial, but rather advantagious, at the least, it would be honourable for them, if his liberty were wrought, if not by their intercession, at least by their occasion; further he told me, That he was confident, that the Queen would not be gained by their fair words, but would persist in her resolution. Which discourse of his with some other advertisements, doth perswade me, that this matter hath a farther root, and is likely to bring forth some great alteration here, in no long time. And I doubt not but that *Monsieur de Luine* will find with repentance, how much better it had been for him, to have furthered your Majesties advice for the delivery of the Prince, whereby he might have acquired to the King a reputation of Justice, and to himself an obligation of a powerful friend in the Prince, rather then to leave him to the adventure of the changes, that time may produce. But if your Counsell did prove fruitlesse to them by their misconceit of it, yet it doth, and will every day prove more honourable to your Majestie, who by your wisdom have foreseen, and by your goodnesse have premonished all your neighbours of the mischiefs that threatened them.

Peradventure they may overcome this effort of the Queenes by fair

fair words to her Person, and threats signified afar off, and continue the state of affairs in the same condition that now it is, which is in few words extreamly Romish, Jesuitish, and by consequence Spanish.

Mounseur de Luine seemeth to me a man in himself capable of reason, and by the death of the Marshal d'Ancre, eternally bound to be a good Patriot, but that he applyes himself wholly to the Kings person, and that distrusting his own judgment, relies upon the judgment of the Ministers of the State, and principally \* Du Angen the \* Du Agem, Chancellour, and the Gardefeaux.

They utterly neglect all the Alliances of our Religion abroad, and care not how inconsiderately they oppresse it at home. Onely they seem desirous to entertain themselves well with the King of Spain, by the intervention of the Nuncio, and do think that no advantage which they can give the Spaniard by this proceeding in other parts, can equal that which they pretend to receive at home, by suppressing the State, and doctrine of those of the Religion.

If they proceed long in this train, it will undoubtedly breed mischievous designes, which there is no so ready way to prevent, as to let them generally perceive, that they are discovered, whereby the proceedings of the Ministers of State will grow so detestable to all those here, that have any sense of the love of their Countrey, that it will produce either a change of their persons, or of their Councils.

But I do humbly submit the Censure hereof to your Majesties most exquisite judgment, whom I do beseech the Almighty long to preserve in health, and all perfect happinesse.

Your Majesties

Most humble Subject, and  
Loyal Servant,

Will. Beecher.

## To King James, abignoto.

*Most wise, and Glorious Prince,*

**B**Ecause the departure of your Majestie doth not permit me to hope for the honour of seeing you, and that the advertisements, and orders which I have to communicate unto you, do merit your speedy review and magnanimous resolution, I have presumed to trust them unto this paper, which I do humbly desire may rest in the hands of your Majestie alone.

The treaty of restoring all that had been taken by Sea (which by a motion from *Spain*, was put into the hands of some Ministers in *Rome*) is accompanied with so little hope of obtaining the end, that was pretended, that by reason of their continuing at *Naples* to dissipate, and waste such goods as they had taken in our ships, and the Cardinal *Borgias* reservednesse to promise any thing, that negotiation may be held as vain, and as an insidious invention to gain time. Nevertheless my Masters marching still with a constant desire of purchasing the publique tranquillity, have been content to render all such vessels as they had taken within their Gulph, in hope that having gotten the advantage of the cause by this honest proceeding, they might prevail in which they had made at *Naples*, for the restitution of their Galeasses, and of the ship called *Rosse*.

But the actions and operations of the Spaniards do not answer unto what is desired, and hoped. For in the Kingdome of *Sicilie Naples*, and *Calabria*, they do muster new Souldiers, and they make great preparations for a war by the Sea. The subjects of those Kingdomes are taxed with extraordinary Contributions of mony, and in daily counsels held by the duke of *Ossuna*, the Marquesse *Santa Croce*, and other ministers they do consult of the meanes of making war, and doing hurt. But that which is most important is, that in the conjuncture, there is likewise in divers parts of *Spain* a terrible course of great provisions. For they have put in a readinesse armour for 30000. men, they have ingrossed all the ammunition that could be purchased, and have put in good equipage 60. tall ships which being added unto those they have already in the Streights make 80. at *Naples* they have 20 ships more besides all their own Gallies, and an order they have obtained for the Gallies of *Malta*, *Florence*, and the Pope to joyn with them.

All the *Italian* Souldiers are quartered along the Coast of *Apulia*, which is opposite to our *Gulph*, and they have 14000. foot of *Wal-*  
loons,

*Joons, French, and Spaniards* lodged within the Kingdom of *Naples*. In *Flanders* at this present, they make a new Leavie of 6000. foot, and a 1000. horse. And in the state of *Milan*, they do retain still 3000. horse supernumeraries. All which forces, and provisions, as they do deserve for their greatnesse to be regarded, and looked upon with a jealous eye of every one; so those, who do suffer at the present many injuries and acts of hostility at the hands of the *Spaniards*, and in particular the State of *Venice*, which is betrayed by their fraudulent treaties, cannot chuse but fear, and doubt more then any other. Neither can any pretences of enterprises or designs against the Turk secure those, who set the sword bended against their breasts, and the fire kindled in their own houses.

Whereupon your Majestie is humbly desired that you will be pleased to consider seriously of what hath been remonstrated, and to take such a resolution, as may best besit your wisdom, and Greatnesse, and the safety, and indemnity of a State so observant of your Majesty as ours is, and of a member so important of the liberty of *Italie*, and of Europe. There is not, at this day (*Invincible Sir*) any Prince in the whole world upon whom the Conservation of the publique tranquillity doth more rely then upon your Majestie. For there being none that doth equal your Majestie in wisdom, and experience, possessing your Kingdomes in perfect peace, quietnesse, and plenty, to the infinite praise of your name, and being free from the molestation of all stormes and tempests, it seemeth that the eyes of all men are turned towards your Majestie as towards a Sun, that ought to clear the Skie, and that they expect deliverance onely from your hand. These resolutions (oh most wise King) will be the strongest walls upon which your eternity can be reared. These will be the Jewels, and the crown, which will adorn you in earth, and in Heaven. These will be the immortal Glorie of your powerful name.

The resolutions in cases of such weight, and danger ought to be magnanimous, quick, and powerful. The very noise of your putting in order your royal Navie, the sending a person of quality to the place, from whence the danger is feared, and the declaring your self in favour of those, whom you shall find to have the right on their side, may perhaps prove sufficient to procure a peace. If words will not prevail deeds must follow, and such a resolution will prove the true Antidote to all their poysons. For the better effecting whereof the world doth attend with great devotion to see a good correspondencie renewed betwixt your Majestie and the *French King*; and for the



*Sir Isaac Wake to the Secretary.*

the disposing your Majesties heart thereunto, the State of *Venice* doth joyn her humble prayers unto the earnest intreaty of many others.

In the mean time, I am to request your Majestie, that you will be pleased to forbid the exportation of Artillerie, ships and Mariners out of our Kingdomes for the service of the *Spaniards*, it being neither just nor agreeable to your Majesties Piety, that your Arms should be stayned with the blood of a State, and Prince, that hath no equal in love to your Royal Crown, and that will ever testifie to all the world by effects of their observance, the pure, and sincere devotion that they have to your Glorious name. For my own particular, I humbly crave leave to kisse your royal hands.

*Sir Isaac Wake to the Secretary.*

*Right Honourable,*

I Have safely received the Letter, wherewith your Honour hath been pleased to favour me, dated at *Theobalds* the 19<sup>th</sup>. of July Stil. Vet. and have to my singular comfort understood, that you have been pleased not onely to give favourable acceptance unto such weak dispatches as I have made bold to addresse unto you, but done me the honour likewise to acquaint his Majestie with the contents of them, and to direct my proceedings in in this intricate businesse, which instructions dictated by his Majesties wisdom, this light will be sufficient to direct my steps in the midst of an *Egyptian* darknesse, which doth not only obscure the *Horizon* of this Province where I reside, but almost the whole face of Europe, by reason of the great mists, which are cast artificially in all mens eyes to cover the designs of those, who do presume, that they have in all places *arbitrium Belli et Pacis*.

I most humbly crave pardon of your Honour, if you do not receive my answer so soon as perhaps you might expect. For yours having stayed upon the way a month and a day, did not come to my hands until the 20<sup>th</sup>. of August Stil. Vet. At which time it was brought unto me by Mr. *Rowlandson*, whom I had dispatched into *Germany*, to advertize those Princes of the motion made to the Duke of *Savoy* for the passage of Spanish forces through his State. My Lord of *Doncaster* under whose Cover I received that Letter, did not think fieto send it to me by an expresse messenger for fear of increas-

ing

sing the suspection of some in those parts, who are jealous that his Majesty doth favour the Duke of Savoy more then they could wish. And I must confesse, that the same reason induced me likewise to send that Gentleman of the Duke of Savoy's into Germany, rather then any servant of mine own, for fear least allees, and vennes of messagers betwixt my Lord of *Doncaster*, and me in these doubtful times might so far injealous the contrary party, as might prejudice the service of his Majestie in that Negotiation.

The instructions that your Honour hath been pleased to give me from his Majestie, concerning my treating with 52. c. in favour of 52. c. the Duke of Savoy. 93. a. having reference unto the inclination of 95. a. to peace, or the probability of defence to be made by 93. a. I held it more safe for me to govern my self by such informations of the state of those affairs as I have received from the favour of the 1. 32. 7. 5. 47. 48. 95 a. the 2. 10. 40. 45. of 51. a. in 97. a. And for the better justification of my proceedings, I send your Honour here inclosed the Copie of his Emperour Ferdinand. Letter unto me, wherein you will see, that I have no reason as yet 51. a. the King of England. to spend the name of 51. a. in favour of 93. a. nor to imbargue 52. c. in a businesse, which may draw a great charge, and envie upon 97. a. Germany. himself, and not much advantage the 93. a. I must confesse that 99. a. the King of the the 50. b. in general, and particularly the 54. b. and the 41. 45. Romans. 23. 34. 9. 12. of 5. 35. 22. 4. 30. 50. have represented the state 71. c. the Agent of of those affairs at this present unto 52. b. in a manner not onely different from the advertisements sent me, but almost contrary, and England. they do seem not only to be confident of the prevailing of 93. c. but 51. b. the Prince Palatine. likewise they continue to give hope that the 10. 51. 29. 15. of 48. 3. 59. 15. will concur with 51. b. and 52. b. in the 12. 30. 13. 9. 50. 52. b. the Marquesse of Brandenburg. 27. 40. 35. of 99. a. But because I have reason to suspect that they 54. b. the Marquesse of Aufpach. make relation of those affairs, rather as they wish they were, then 50. b. the Princes of the Union. as they be indeed, and that their intention to draw somewhat from 56 b. Count Ernst Mansfeld. 52. c. towards the succours of 93. a. I will forbear to joyn with them therein, until I can have some better ground then their advertisements, which may be thought to savour of partiality, and I have reason to be backward therein, because I know that 52. c. would presently take me *en mot*, and put to the account of 51. a. that which he is most willing to do of himself. I do not affirm this out of conjecture, but upon good ground; for besides, that he did signifie so much unto me at my return out of England, I do know that within this fortnight he hath sent unto 56. b. 3000. 41. 24. 48. 49. 40. 30. 47. in part of 42. 2. 60. 32. 15. 35. 50. and in the conveyance of

our of Spaine his Army, concerning that the King

this 33. 39. 34. 35. 61. there was extraordinary diligence used to conceal it from the knowledge of the 71. c. whereof no other construction can be made, but that 52. c. would fain be intreated by 71. c. to do that, which he hath already a mind to do.

If upon more fresh Letters, which I expect from my Lord of *Doncaster*, I shall find that the affairs there have changed face since the writing of his last unto me, I will govern my self accordingly, as I shall receive warrant from him.

We are here at a stand, expecting with devotion the issue of the affairs of *Germanie*. The Army in the Kingdom of *Naples* is still retained, and no order given, either for the dismissing of those Troops, or the employing them in any service. Prince *Philibert* is at *Messina* with the Gallies, and hath with him 10. or 12000 men. The Ships and Gallions remain at *Naples*, and the *Walloons*, *Lombards* and *Neapolitanes* which should have come to *Vado*, are since their disimbarquing again, quartered round the City of *Naples*. It is impossible to guesse what they mean to do; but the most probable conjecture is, that under the colour of suspecting the Duke of *Ossuna*, the *Spaniards* will keep their potent Army on foot, and by that means keep all *Italy* in awe, and as it were *sub Ferula*, and delude the reiterated promises and oaths that have passed by them, to assure the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*, that they would dismiss those Forces. The season is now past for any enterprise by Sea, so that Prince *Philibert* must be forced to return without doing any thing. And many are of opinion, that the Duke of *Ossuna* had secret order to counterfeit madnesse, and to crosse the Kings Commandement expressly to deprive Prince *Philibert* of the honour which would have redounded unto him, if he had been possessed of the absolute Command of so potent an Armie. The Duke of *Savoy* on the other side, would fain make you believe, that undoubtedly *Ossuna* hath entertained rebellious thoughts, and that if *Don Octavio D' Arragona* do not bring a good answer out of *Spain*, he will break out into open contumacie. His demands of the King of *Spain* are these:

First, That he may be continued in the Government four years longer.

Secondly, That he may be permitted to enter with his Fleet into the Gulph of *Venice*, and to dispute his Majesties Title to that Sea by the force of Arms.

Lastly, That in case the King of *Spain* will not let him Contest so far with the *Venetians*, that there may then be sent him so much money out of *Spain* as may license his Army, considering that the King-

dome

dome of *Naples* is so far exhausted, as that they cannot contribute any longer either to the maintaining, or to the dismissing of those Forces.

The *Venetians* did lately chase a small Gallie of the *Vicocchi*, which was entred into the Gulph to rob and spoyle, and followed her unto the shoares of *Apuglia*, where *Ferlitick* the Captain of those Thieves saved himself and the most part of his fellowes by flight into the mountains, but *Signior Filippo Belegno* recovered the Gallie, and carried her away as a prize, having found two banners displayed, the one with the arms of *Spain*, the other with the arms of *Ossuna*; And not onely a formal Patent and Commission to take any thing, that he could from the *Venetians*, but some Letters likewise from some principal Ministers of *Ferdinand*, wherein this *Capo di Banditi* is encouraged, and requested to do the *Venetians* as much hurt and dammage, as he might be able. Now the Duke of *Ossuna* is fallen into a great rage with the *Venetians*, *quod non solum telum corpore acceperunt*, and he doth threaten to be revenged upon them for not suffering these *Vicocchi* to rob and spoyle their subjects.

The Duke of *Savoy* hath done me the honour to intreat my company with him into *Savoy*, whither he doth purpose very shortly to go, that he may receive at the confines of his estate, the Prince of *Piedmont*, and Madam his wife. And because his request hath the power of a command over me in *Licetis, et honestis*, I must be enforced to passe the Mountaines again at an unseasonable time, before I have sufficiently refreshed my self after my last voyage, and I know not whether I shall have the opportunity of writing unto your Honour again before my going, which is uncertain, as depending upon the going of the Duke. So with my hearty prayers unto Almighty God for the preservation of his Majestie in health, and the prosperity of his Estate, in all humility I take leave; And rest

Your Honours most faithfully  
to command,

Turin 27. Septemb.  
22. August. 1619.

Isaac Wake.



Sir Isaac Wake to Mr. Secretarie.

Right Honourable,

I Have received the Letter, wherewith your Honour hath been pleased to favour me, dated at *White-Hall* the 27. of February, and having to my singular comfort understood, that his Majestie hath declared his gracious approbation of my proceedings here, with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians*. And I do with all thankfulness acknowledge to receive that favour from the hand of your Honour, as my only *Gratum faciens*—

I will not fail to govern my self precisely by the rule of those Instructions which you have been pleased to give me. And as you have favoured me with passing your word for me, that I will not spend his Majesties name without particular Warrant, and direction; so will I promise faithfully to perform as much, as you have undertaken for me, and both in this, as in all things else you may assure your self, that his Majesties revealed will, and that only, shall be a Law unto me.

Your Honour will have understood by my former Dispatches, that the Duke of *Ossuna* is re-confirmed in his Government of *Naples*: He hath not (as far as I can learn) any certain time prefixed, but is to remain there *durante Regis bene—placito*; And when his Patent was presented unto him, he had likewise order (which was delivered by word of mouth) that the King his Master did require him immediately to dismisse all his Army, and to send the *Walloons*, and *Napolitanes* into *Germany* to the succours of the Emperour. The same party did likewise signifie unto him, that as the King of Spain had shewed, to have a care of the honour of the Duke of *Ossuna* in establishing him anew in that Regencie, at this time, when the world had made some doubt, that his late actions had not been conformable to the will and pleasure of his Master, so he did expect that he should voluntarily, and of himself, ask leave to go into *Spain*, and offer to give an account of all his proceedings. Which course, the King did recommend unto him as most honourable, for the justification of his own innocencie, and the confusion of his enemies. This Message the said Duke hath wisely suppressed, and hath published the Patent of his Confirmation; without taking notice of the private Articles, which were annexed thereunto, and delivered verbally. He doth professe to understand very well, that in *Spain* they wish him ill, and that their design is under the fair bait of this establishing him in that Government, to make him swallow the hook of dismissing his

his armie, that so they may afterwards dispose of him at their pleasure, when he shall remain utterly disarmed. But his heart did not serve him to throw away the scabbard when he had drawn his sword; and I am perswaded, that as in *Spain* they will judge of his proceedings by the rule of *Tacitus*. *Qui deliberant desciverant*: so he will repent of not having observed, that other *Maximi*, *Aut nunquam tentes*, *Aut perisce*. His best hope is, that *Chi ha tempo ha vita*, and if he can make his peace at home upon any conditions, he will not much care to turn honest, and change his dangerous designs into faithful service of his Master. To play *Le bon valets*, he hath now obeyed his Masters Commandment in sending the *Walloons* and *Nepolitans* into *Lombardie*, and they are all so safely arrived at *Vado* upon 19 Gallions, being in number 6. or 7000,

The landing of these troops, and their passing along the skirt of this State doth not onely give a little jealousy to the Duke of *Savoy*, but put him likewise to some Cost, and trouble. For as he doth well know, how dangerous it is to stand to the discretion of a reconciled enemy, so doth he evidently see, that their ill talent towards him, doth not only continue, but increase; and therefore to assure himself, and his State, he hath caused at this present a general muster to be made of all his Cavallarie, and trained Infanterie, which he doth send to the confines of his State, that way, which these newly landed Troops are to passe. And although their order be to march towards *Switzerland*, and to passe that way into *Germany*, yet will this Prince stand upon his guard until they are quite gone out of *Lombardie*, and hath given order to the Count *Guido St. George* in his absence, not to let him lodge in *Monferrat* upon any terms whatsoever, nor to linger too long neer the Confine of this Province. He hath this reason to conclude, that the *Spaniards* with him ill, because he doth see that they do mistrust him. For whereas they had a fair promise of the passage for their armie through this State, in vertue of antient capitulations betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, they have chosen rather to buy the passage at the hands of the *Swisses* at a very dear rate, then adventure to take it here *Gratis*. Whereby it may appear unto all the world how little confidence they have in this Prince, and how much they mistrust him for being partiallie affected to the Prince *Palatine*, and all that party. Howsoever your Honour doth conceive, that the season of the year is too far passed for the transportation of this army of the *Spaniards* into *Germany*, yet you will see that necessity doth make men strive with many inconveniencies

niences, for they must passe whatsoever weather happen; and indeed the Alpes are passable enough until the months of January and February, if the Souldiers be well cloathed, for there is no danger but of cold, untill the deluges of Snow which fall late do shut up the passages.

Perhaps they will not find the passages of *Switzerland* so favourable as they do conceive, and as is figured unto them, for they have bought it only of the little Popish *Cantons*, without asking leave of the *Seigniorie* of *Zurich*, and *Berne*, and it is to be supposed, that the State of *Berne* will take a hot Alarm, considering that their controversie with *Friburge* is not accommodated, and that the Governor of *Millan* hath made offer unto those of *Friburge*, and the little *Cantons*, of all this armie for the defence of the Catholique religion in the *Bailiage* of *Eschalens*, whereof I have given notice to our *Signiorie* of *Berne* by an expresse Currier that they may have time to save themselves from a surprise.

The voyce doth run currant over all *Italie*, that the Duke of *Parma* is to undertake a voyage shortly for the service of the King of *Spain*, but whither he is to go they cannot tell; for some send him into *Germanie*, others into *Flanders*, and the most men into *Spain*. For all which discourse, I know no other ground, but that his brother the Cardinal *Furnese* hath asked leave of the Pope to retire himself for a time to *Parma*, and I do imagin that the *Speculariivi* have concluded thereupon, that he is to govern the State in the absence of his brother.

Prince *Philibert* having failed of the enterprise of *Susa*, did intend in his scond setting out from *Sicily*, to meet with the Turkish Fleet and fight with them. The first part of his design succeeded happily, for he had the good fortune to encounter the whole Fleet between *Zan* and *Cephalonia*, but finding them more strong then he was aware, and well resolved to give him batraile, he was counsailed to retire to *Messina*, where he is at this present, without having effected any thing. The two armies of *Venice*, and the Turk, did likewise meet on those Seas, not far from *Corfu*, but as soon as they did know each the other, the two Generals, and all the principal Officers, did interchangeably present one the other with wine, and *Rinfres Camenti*, and so much kindnesse passed betwixt them, that the *Visier Bassa* did offer to joyn his Fleet with the *Venetian*, and to set upon the Spanish *Armado*, which charitable offer, the *Venetian* General had so much christianity as to refuse with modest thanks.

Signiour:

Signiour *Antonio Donato* hath sent a servant of his hither, who had the fortune to arrive in an ill Coniuncture. For the Duke of *Savoy* having lately called upon the *Venetians* for that money which is wanting in Signiour *Donato's* account, they did excuse themselves upon his pleading not guilty, and did send unto the Duke a Copy of his Letter written to the Senate, when he was yet Embassadour, and not convicted. This Letter arrived here from *Venice* the very day before Signiour *Donato's* servant, and if your Honour will be pleased to cast an eye upon the Copy which I send here inclosed, you will not blame the Duke of *Savoy* for refusing to give him audience, or to receive his Masters Letters; for he doth give the Duke the Lie three several times in that Letter, which is strange language to be used of a Prince; and I do much wonder, that the *Venetians* would upon any occasion whatsoever publish such a Petulancie, committed by one, that was their Embassadour at that time.

He brought me a Letter from his Master of meer Ceremonie, and Complement, and had his principal addresse unto the Popes Nuntio in this Court, whereat I did wonder somewhat formally at the first, as conceiving that in Congruity he ought to have interrupted his Correspondence with the Popes Ministers, as long as he doth live under the protection of his Majestie; but when I understood, that the Duke had lodged him in a prison, with an intent to send him to *Venice*, I was glad that I had so little to do with him, and the Nuntio so much.

The Duke of *Savoy* doth assure himself, that when his Majestie shall have perused this Letter of Signiour *Donato's*, he will withdraw his countenance, and protection from him, and account him unworthy of any favour, for having wronged in so high a degree a Prince, that is so much a servant of his Majestie.

I may not likewise conceal from his Majesties knowledge, that Signiour *Donato* hath not been wanting to ruine (as far as he could) *Padre Paolo*, and *Fulgentio* in *Venice*; two persons that have done his Majestie very long and faithful service, as by an inclosed Paper, your Honour may see, which is an abstract of a Letter written from *Fulgentio*.

The Prince of *Piedmont* having made a posting voyage hither to receive his Fathers blessing, before he bring his Lady in the Country, I did present unto him his Majesties Letters of Congratulation, whereunto he hath returned an answer, which I send here inclosed. So with my hearty prayers unto Almighty God for the preservation



*Sir Isaac Wake to the Duke.*

of his Majesties Person in all happinesse and prosperity, in all humility I take leave, And rest

Your Honours

Most faithfully to  
command,

Turin  $\frac{1}{17}$  of Octob: 1619.

*Isaac Wake.*

*Sir Isaac Wake to the Duke.*

*Right Honourable, and my very singular good Lord,*

**I**N these parts we have nothing of moment worthy the relating; the storms which do vex our neighbours round about us keeping us here in calme, and quiet, as it were *per antiperistasin*. Howsoever I am of opinion, that we shall enter into the *Dance* either actively or passively before the next summer passe over. All over *Italy* there doth raige a great dearth, which did lately cause in *Naples* a dangerous Cullevation of the people against the Cardinal *Zappata* Vice-Roy, who had somewhat to do to save himself from the fury of the *Popolarzo*.

In the State of *Millan* likewise some insurrections were beginning to be made in *Novarra*, *Alessandria*, and *Cremona*, both for want of bread, and for the insolencie of the Garrison Souldiers, who having had no pay for many moneths, did commit many violent excesses upon the people, which did drive them into despair; but those Comotions were appeased betimes, and no great matter of Consideration hath ensued, although there are some neighbour Princes who did stand *aux Escontes*, and would be ready to have acted a troublesome part, if the scene had been ready.

The Duke of *Parma* hath imprisoned his natural son *Don Othavio*, the mysterie whereof is not well known, but it must needs be for some great matter, because he did make shew to love him passionately. The Infanta *Isabella* of *Modena* hath been in danger of her life, by being surprized with a violent feaver; neer the time of her childbirth: from hence the Duke of *Savoy* sent his Physitians to help her, and we hear now that she hath escaped that danger, and is safely delivered of a daughter.

Count

Count *Mansfeld* is grown formidable, and doth daily increase in strength and reputation. Although he hath hitherto intitled his armes unto the service of the King of *Bohemia*, yet I believe he will neither disarm, nor suspend his arms, when he shall be commanded so to do by that King. For being now intertained by the State of *Venice* with an honourable provision of 12000 Crowns *per annum* in peace during his life, and the pay of 10000 Foot, and 2000 horse in the time of War, he will try what he can do for the infranchising of the *Grisons*, when the affairs of the *Palatinate* shall be accommodated. And if the *Austriaci* do not bend all their forces against him very speedily, and break his Armie before it grow more strong, he is like to give them a greater blow then they have had these many yeares. That which he hath gotten already in *Alsacia*, is much more worth, then the lower *Palatinate*; and although he hath hitherto made those people to swear Allegiance unto the King of *Bohemia*, yet when the said King shall make his peace with the Emperour, it may be doubted whether Count *Mansfeld* will resign up what he hath conquered; and it is thought, that he will either keep it for himself, or intitle some other Prince thereunto. The *Austriaci* were never so matched as with Count *Mansfeld*, for he is a perpetual motion, and doth not stand upon the defensive (as others have done hitherto, and lost by the bargain) but he is alwaies setting upon them, and doth make War at their cost; let them take heed how they proceed with him; for he, who hath nothing to lose, is ready to hazard the Paquet upon all occasions; And if he do chance to overthrow them once in battel, they will run danger, or lose all that they have in *Germany*. Let me in all humility beseech your Lordship to continue me in the honor of your good opinion, and to favour me with your honourable protection, especially with a good word to my Lord Treasurer, for the sending me some relief, without which I cannot possibly subsist, having for want of my pay, consumed all that I had in the world. God Almighty increase upon your Lordship all happinesse and prosperity, as is unfainedly wished unto you by him that is

Your Lordships most humble obliged,  
Creature and Servant,

Turin  $\frac{22}{23}$  of Febr.

1621.

Isaac Wake,

Sir

Sir Isaac VVakes *Proposition for the King of*  
Denmark.

**I**T seemeth that the Glorie of this State, which at all times was great, doth shine brighter now a dayes; since that besides so many Neighbouring Kings and Princes, whereof some are in a made league with us, and some do keep a good correspondence, and all a good intelligence with us. Now the friendship of your Highnesse is sought by the mighty King of *Denmark*, a monarch of those nations, that in time past have left their remembrance of their *prowesse* in *Italie*, *France*, *Spain*, and in whole Europe behind them. This Great King of the North, who like a Second *Atlas* holds up the *Arctick* pole, rich in treasure, numerous in men, dreadful for his invincible generosity and Courage, doth here offer himself unto your Highnesse. And acquainting you of his actions, doth confidently promise you to stand firm, and stout in the defence of the common cause, if so be that he receive that assistance as he hath reason to expect from those, that are interested in the same cause. His Majestie of *Denmark* hath had from the King my Master, as much as can be given, and it is no small matter, that his Majestie of great *Brittain* doth still continue the same assistance, having withall still those great expences, that are required for the surety of his Realmes, and for the offence of the common enemy.

His Majestie of *France* hath also contributed to this good work somewhat, and there is great hope, that he will bring forth in a short time some fit remedie against this evill. The Lords States do as much as they are able. And the Princes of *Low Saxonia* do not want in their duties. There remaineth now, that your Highnesse put also your powerful hand to this work, and with a vigorous succour, worthy of your great heart do encourage all the rest to continue their *Emprese*. The two Kings are not ignorant of the great sincerity wherewith this most Excellent State, doth observe the capitulations made with Allies of the league, and that rather then to be wanting in things agreed upon, you have surpassed in necessarie provisions for the advancement of the designs, and that you have not been partakers, nor agreeers of the treaty made at *Moncon*. But that you do continue to keep some forces in your Dominions, and likewise some troops in the *Valtoline* for the effecting (as much as is in you) of what was first thought fit, and of the agreement of the League.

And as that generous resolution and constancie of this State is never enough praised, so there is great hope that you will not bring this  
same

same in the reckoning of the two Kings, who never will misse to praise the wisdom and generositie of this State, though not obliged for their particular for any thing whatsoever done till now, either by the league in general, or by whomsoever of the united in particular, because that the league was made two years and more before his Majestie of great *Britain* broke with *Spain*, or that the King of *Denmark* had declared himself. Since the time that these two Kings are come to the *Dance*, your Highnesse hath not levied one man, and the Forces which you do yet keep, as they were not levied, so are they not maintained in Contemplation of the two Kings, but onely for the first reasons of the League.

The onely thing here sought for is to go with a common pace, that those that are now too heavily laden, may be supported by their friends, either by way of diversion, or by way of assistance. And therefore your Highnesse and other Princes are now requested to help, seeing there is small appearance of diversion. And let the case, that the Peace between *Spain* and *France* should be firm, would it not turn against the Common Cause? *Italia incendium ruina Germania extinguere?* To quench a little fire in *Italy* by the ruine of whole *Germany*? In Chronical diseases Physicians do not so much respect the symptoms and accidents as they do the causes of the evil.

The *Valtoline*, *Palatinate*, *Hessia*, *Marchisat* of *Baden*, *Dukedome* of *Brunswick*, and so many other Countries attempted, and oppressed by the *Spanish* and *Austrian* usurpation, are grievous and dangerous symptoms and accidents: but the Cause, and fewel of the evil remains yet in the ambitious bowels of the *Spaniard*, who now with spread sailes goeth on towards the universal Monarchie; unlesse there be applied betimes some fit remedies, all topick remedies will do but little good.

The King of *Denmark* doth offer himself ready to apply such an issue, whereby he may be brought back to terms of modestie, and with the assistance he doth expect from your Highnesse and other interested Princes, he hopeth to bring his good intent to passe. And being prodigal of his great Soul, there is no doubt he will ever go back, unlesse he be forsaken.

Thus there remains the Common liberty almost in your hands, and if this most excellent Senate resolves to give ayd unto that King, that libertie will be preserved. If you do forsake him, that will also be indangered, yea lost. I therefore beseech your Highnesse to ponder well this matter, and to grant such an assistance, as is requested by the King of *Denmark*'s Embassadour.

Sir



## Sir Henry Wootton to the Duk.

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Will be bold by this opportunity to give his Majestie through your Lordships hands, an accompt of a Command which I had from him at *Theobalds*, about founding how the *Venetian* Embassadour stood satisfied with the late determination touching his predecessour *Donato*.

I did visit the said Embassadour immediatly at my return from the King, and saluted him as by expresse Commandment; interjecting some words of mine own gladnesse, that he had received contentment in this tender point, which would signalize his beginnings. This I said, because in truth I had found him alwaies before the more passionate in it by some reflection upon himself. His answer (after due thanks for his Majesties gracious remembrance of him from abroad) was, That for his own part, he was *Contentissimo*, and had represented things home in the best manner. He hoped likewise it would be well tasted there also, though with some doubt, because the State out of their own devotion towards his Majestie might form a confidence of expecting more. I replyed, that the King upon the matter (if we consider disgrace) had done more then themselves: for he was but once banished at *Venice*, and twice here; viz. once from the Verge of the Court, and secondly, from *London*, which was as much as could be done with preservation of National immunities, and more then would have been done at the suit of any other Embassadour here resident, or perhaps of any of their own hereafter if the like case shall occur. For (as I told him) it was the Kings expresse will, that his particular respect to the republique, and to him in this businesse should not be drawn into examples. With this point he was not a little pleased for his own glory, and said, that indeed Mr. Secretarie *Nanton* had told him so. This was the summe of what passed between us, omitting impertinencies. Let me end (my dear Lord) as I am bound in all the use, either of my pen, or of my voice, with an humble and hearty acknowledgment of my great obligations towards your Lordship, which will make me resolve, and in good faith unhappy, till I can some way shew my self

Your Lordships most thankful and  
faithful servant,

25<sup>th</sup> of January,  
1619.

*Henry Wootton.*

Sir

*Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.*

*My most honoured Lord, and Patron,*

**T**Hese poor lines will be presented unto your Lordship by my Nephew (one of your obliged servants) and withal some description (as I have prayed him) of my long infirmities, which have cast me behind in many private, and often interrupted even my publique Duties; with which yet I do rather seek to excuse some other defects of service then my silence towards your Lordship.

For to importune your Lordship seldom with my pen is a choice in me, and not a disease, having resolved to live at what distance soever from your sight, like one who had well studied before I came hither, how secure they are whom you once vouchsafe any part of your love. And indeed I am well confirmed therein by your own gracious lines: for thereby I see that your Lordship had me in your meditation, when I scant remembered my self.

In answer of which Letter after some respite from mine own evils, I have deputed my said Nephew to redeliver my fortune into your Noble hands, and to assure your Lordship, that as it should be cheerfully spent at your Command if it were present and actual (from whose mediation I have derived it) so much more am I bound to yeeld up unto your Lordship an absolute disposition of my hopes: But if it should please you therein to grant me any part of mine own humour, then I would rather wish some other satisfaction, then exchange of Office; yet even in this point likewise shall depend on your will, which your Lordship may indeed challenge from me, not onely by an humble gratitude, and reverence due to your most worthy person, but even by that natural charity and discretion, which I owe my self: For what do I more therein, then onely remit to your own arbitrement the valuation of your own goodnesse? I have likewise committed to my foresaid Nephew some Memorials touching your Lordships familiar service (as I may term it) in matter of art and delight.

But though I have laid these Offices upon another, yet I joy with mine own pen to give your Lordship an account of a Gentleman, worthier of your love, then I was of the honour to receive him from you.

We are now after his well-spent travailes in the Townes of purer language, married again till a second Divorce, for which I shall be sorry, whensoever it shall happen. For in truth (my good Lord) his

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*Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.*

conversation is both delightful, and fruitful, and I dare pronounce, that he will return to his friends, as well fraught with the best observations as any that hath ever sifted this Countrie, which indeed doth need sifting; for there is both flower and bran in it.

He hath divided his abode between *Sienna* and *Rome*: The rest of his time was for the most part spent in motion. I think his purpose be to take the French tongue in his way homewards, but I am perswading with him to make *Bruxels* his Seat, both because the *French* and *Spanish* Languages are familiar there, whereof the one will be after *Italian* a sport unto him, so as he may make the other a labour: And for that the said Town is now the scene of an important Treatie, which I fear will last till he come thither: but far be from me all ominous conceit.

I will end with cheerful thoughts and wishes; beseeching the Almighty God to preserve your Lordship in health, and to cure the publique diseases. And so I ever remain

Your Lordships

Most devoted obliged  
servant,

Venice 29. of  
July, 1622.

*Henry Wotton.*

*Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.*

*My most honoured, and dear Lord,*

**T**O give your Lordship occasion to exercise your Noble nature, is withal one of the best exercises of mine own duty: and therefore I am confident to passe a very charitable motion through your Lordships hands, and mediation to his Majestie.

There hath long lay in the prison of Inquisition a constant worthy Gentleman, viz. Mr. *Mole*; In whom his Majestie hath not only a right as his subject, but likewise a particular interest in the cause of his first imprisonment. For having communicated his Majesties immortal work touching the alleagiance due unto Sovereign Princes with a *Florentine* of his familiar acquaintance, this man took such impression at some passages, as troubling his conscience, he took occasion at next shrift to confer certain doubts with his Confessor, who

out:

out of malicious curiosity, enquiring all circumstances, gave afterwards notice thereof to *Rome*, whither the said *Mole* was gone with my Lord *Rosse*, who in this storie is not without blame; but I will not disquiet his Grave.

Now having lately heard, that his Majestie at the suite of I know not what Embassadours (but the *Florentine* amongst them is voiced for one) was pleased to yield some releasement to certain restrained persons of the Roman faith: I have taken a conceit upon it, that in exchange of his clemencie therein, the Great Duke would be easily moved by the Kings Gracious request, to intercede with the Pope for Mr. *Moles* delivery. To which purpose if it shall please his Majestie to grant his Royal Letters, I will see the businesse duely pursued. And so needing no arguments to commend this proposition to his Majesties goodnesse, but his goodnesse it self, I leave it (as I began) in your Noble hand.

Now touching your Lordships familiar service (as I may term it) I have sent the complement of your bargain upon the best provided and best manned ship, that hath been here in long time, called the *Phoenix*, and indeed the cause of their long stay hath been for some such sure vessel as I might trust. About which since I wrote last to your Lordship, I resolved to fall back to my first choice. So as now the one peece is the work of *Tisian*, wherein the least figure (viz the child in the Virgins lap playing with a bird) is alone worth the price of your expence for all four, being so round, that I know not whether I shall call it a piece of sculpture, or picture; and so lively, that a man would be tempted to doubt, whether nature, or art had made it. The other is of *Palma*, and this I call the speaking peece, as your Lordship will say it may well be tearmed: for except the Damosel brought to *David*, whom a silent modesty did best become, all the other figures are in discourse, and action. They come both distended in their frames; for I durst not hazard them in rowles, the youngest being 25. yeares old, and therefore no longer supple, and pliant. With them I have been bold to send a dish of Grapes to your Noble Sister, the Countesse of *Denbigh*, presenting them first to your Lordships view, that you may be pleased to passe your censure, whether *Italians* can make fruits as well as *Floumings*, which is the common Glorie of their pencils. By this Gentleman, I have sent the choicest Melon seeds of all kinds, which his Majestie doth expect, as I had order both from my Lord of *Holdernesse*, and from Mr. Secretary *Calvert*. And although in my Letter to his Majestie (which I hope by your Lordships favour himself shall have the honour to deliver together



Sir Henry Wotton *to the Duke.*

together with the said seeds) I have done him right in his due attributes; yet let me say of him farther as *Architects* use to speake of a well chosen foundation, that your Lordship may boldly builde what fortune you please upon him, for surely he will bear it virtuously. I have committed to him for the last place a private memorial touching my self, wherein I shall humbly beg your Lordships intercession upon a necessarie motive. And so with my heartiest prayers to heaven for your continuall health and happinesse, I most humbly rest

Your Lordships

Ever obliged devoted

Venice  $\frac{2}{11}$ . Decemb.

Servant,

1622.

Henry Wotton.

*Postscript.*

MY Noble Lord, it is one of my duties to tell your Lordship, that I have sent a servant of mine (by profession a Painter) to to make a search in the best townes through *Italie* for some principal pieces, which I hope may produce somewhat for your Lordships contentment, and service.

Sir Henry Wotton *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

HAVING some daies by sicknesse been deprived of the comfort of your sight, who did me so much honour at my last Accessse, I am bold to make these poor lines happier then my self. And withal to represent unto your Grace (whose noble Patronage is my refuge, when I find any occasion to bewail mine own fortune) a thing which seemeth strange unto me. I am told (I know not how truly) that his Majestie hath already disposed the *Venetian* Embassage to Sir *Isaac Wake*; from whose sufficiency if I should detract, it would be but an argument of my own weaknesse.

But that which herein doth touch me, I am loath to say in point of reputation, surely much in my livelihood (as Lawyers speak) is that thereby after 17 years of forraign in continual employement either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left utterly destitute of all possibility

*Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.*

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lity to subsist at home, much like those Seale Fishes which sometimes (as they say) oversleeping themselves in an ebbing water, feel nothing about them but a dry shoare when they awake. Which comparison I am faine to seek among those Creatures, not knowing among men that have so long served so gracious a Master, any one to whom I may resemble my unfortunate barenesse. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchsafed me some part of your Love, so make me worthy in this of some part of your Compassion. So I humbly rest

Your Graces, &c.

*Henry Wotton.*

*Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.*

*My most Noble Lord,*

**W**Hen like that impotent man in the Gospel, I had lyen long by the Pooles side, while many were healed, and none would throw me in, it pleased your Lordship first of all to pity my infirmities, and to put me into some hope of subsisting hereafter. Therefore I most humbly and justly acknowledge all my ability and reputation from your favour. You have given me encouragement, you have valued my poor endeavours with the King, you have redeemed me from ridiculousnesse, who had served so long without any mark of favour. By which arguments being already and ever bound to be yours till either life or honestie shall leave me, I am the bolder to beseech your Lordship to perfect your own work, and to draw his Majestie to some settling of those things that depend between Sir *Julius Caesar* and me, in that reasonable form, which I humbly present unto your Lordship by this my Nephew; likewise your obliged servant, being my self by a late indisposition confined to my Chamber, but in all estates such as I am

Your Lordships

*Henry Wotton.*

Sir Henry VVotton to the Earl of Portland, Lord  
Treasurer.

*My most honoured Lord,*

I Most humbly present (though by some infirmities a little too late) a straying new years glist unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the richest Materials.

In short, it is only an image of your self drawn by memorie from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship among the most intelligent, and unmalignant men. Which to portraict before you, I thought no servile office, but ingenious and real. And I could wish, that it had come at that day, that so your Lordship might have begun the new year somewhat like *Platos* definition of felicity with the contemplation of your own *Idea*. They say, that in your forraign imployments under King *James* your Lordship was the opinion of a very able and searching judgment, having been the first discoverer of the intentions against the *Palatinate*, which were then in brewing, and masqued with much art, and that Sir *Edward Conway* got the Start of you both in title, and imployment, because the late Duke of *Buckingham* wanted then for his own ends a Martial Secretarie.

They say that under our present Sovereign you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity, and provident moderation, which attributes I have heard none deny you.

They discourse thus of your actions, since, that though great exhaustations cannot be cured without suddain remedies no more in a Kingdom then in a natural body: yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours, wherewith at your beginning, your house was in a manner daily besieged.

They note, that there hath been made changes, but that none hath brought to the place a judgment so cultivated, and illuminated with various erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord *Burleigh* under Queen *Elizabeth*, whom they make your paralel in the ornament of knowledg.

They observe in your Lordships divers remarkable combinations of virtues and abilities rarely sociable.

In the character of your aspect, a mixture of Authority, and Modestie. In the faculties of your mind quick apprehension and solidity together, in the stile of your Porte, and Trayn, as much dignity and

as great dependencie as was ever in any of your place, and with little noise, and outward form.

That your Table is very abundant, free, and noble, without Luxurie; That you are by nature no flatterer, and yet of greatest power in Court. That you love magnificence and frugality both together. That you entertain your Guests and Visitors with noble Courtesie, and voyd of Complement. Lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your person and place, and yet no enemy to froath-formalities.

Now in the discharge of your function, they speak of two things that have done you much honour, *viz.* that you had alwaies a special care to the supply of the Navie; And likewise a more worthy and tender respect towards the Kings only sister for the continuall support from hence, then she hath found before.

They observe your Greatnesse as firmly established as ever was any, of the love (and which is more) in the estimation of a King who hath so signalized his Constancie: besides your additions of strength (or at least of lustre) by the noblest alliances of the Land.

Amongst these notes, it is no wonder if some observe, that between a good willingnesse in your affections to satisfie all, and impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall on your Lordship, unlesse you had been cut out of a Rock of Diamonds, especially having been long before so conversant with liberal studies, and with the freedom of your own mind.

Now after this short Collection touching your most honoured Person, I beseech you give me leave to adde likewise a little what men say of the Writer.

They say I want not your gracious good will towards me, according to the degrees of my poor talent, and Travayles; but they say, I am wanting to my self. And in good faith (my Lord) in saying so, they say the truth. For I am condemned I know not how by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulnesse in mine own businesse, and it is now too late to put me in a new Furnace.

Therefore, It must be your Lordships proper work, and not onely your Noble, but even your charitable goodnesse, that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyfull years, and the blessing of that Text *Beatus qui attendit ad attentatum.* And so I remain with all humble and willing heart.

At your Lordships command,

Henry Wotton.

Sir



*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Lordship,*

**I** Fear I have taken too much of that liberty of not writing, you were pleased to allow me by Sir *George Goring*, but I hope your Lordship will measure my devotion to serve you by no other rule then your own interest and desert. For as I understand by Sir *George Goring* how often I come in your thoughts, and how great a part I have in your Cares; so is there no man to whom I would more willingly give daily account of my self then to your Lordship, to whose grace and favour I owe so much.

I forbear to trouble your Lordship with any relation of businesse, because I presume your Lordship is acquainted with all my dispatch, and it is not long since I intreated my Lord Treasurer to tell your Lordship what I thought of things then. I have yet little reason to change my opinion.

And if your Lordship please to know the state of things now, I have sent this Gentleman the Bearer hereof especially to do your Lordship reverence in my name, and to give you full information. For my return or stay, I humbly submit it to his Majesties pleasure.

Though this Negotiation be like to spin it self out into much length, I weigh not my own interest. I shall willingly be there, where I shall be thought most able to do his Majestie service. And so intreating that I may be continued in that good opinion and grace, wherein your Lordships own affection, not any merit of mine hath placed me, I humbly kisse your hands; And remain

Your Lordships

Faithful and devoted  
servant,

*Bruxels* 26. June,  
1622.

*Rich. Weston.*

Sir

*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke*

*My very good Lord,*

I Have understood by my Lord Treasurer the way you have made with his Majestie for my calling home, for which this present doth give your Lordship most humble thanks, though I have forbore to presse or sollicit it, because I would approve my obedience to his Majestie, and take away from them all occasion, who otherwise might have accused my departure, and imputed the want of successe here to my want of patience to expect an answer.

I have almost in all my Dispatches since we entred into this Treaty, signified what opinion I had of their proceedings here, and my chief comfort was, that whatsoever the successe were, that the clearnesse of his Majesties intentions would appear to the whole world, and that the failing is not of his side, which I think is manifest enough: for notwithstanding that his Majestie hath followed them in all their desires, and the Prince Electour hath conformed himself to what was demanded, that the Count *Mansfelt*, and Duke of *Brunswick*, the pretended obstacles of the Treatie, are now with all their Forces removed. No face of an enemy in the *Palatinate*, but his Majesties power in the Garrisons; All other places repossessed which *Mansfelt* had taken. No cause of continuing any War now, nor any cause of jealousie or fear for the future, considering his Majesties fair and honourable offers: yet are they so far from a cessation, that they are fallen upon *Heidelberg*, and either want the will, or power to remove the siege. And all I can get is two Letters of intreatie from her Highnesse to the chiefs of the Emperour to proceed no further; and after some 18. daies since I made my proposition for the Cessation, I have yet no answer: so that being able to raise no more doubts, they make use of delayes. I have said, and done, and used all diligences within my power to bring forth better effects, and can go no farther; and therefore I humbly beseech your Lordship that I may have leave to return, when I shall hear that they will not remove the siege at *Heidelberg*. For their pretending to restore all, when all is taken, is a poor comfort to me, and as little honour to his Majestie; and how far they are to be believed in that, is to be examined more exactly then by writing, by weighing how the weak hopes given me here, agree with the strong assurances given by my Lord *Digby* out of *Spain*.

I hope therefore his Majestie will be pleased to think it reasonable

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*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

to speak with me, and as your Lordship hath ever been a happie and gentle star to me; so have I now more need of your favourable aspect then ever, that his Majestie may receive my obedience as a sacrifice, and interpret well of all my endeavours, what successe so ever I bring home with me. Wherein humbly intreating your Lordships wonted grace and favour, I humbly kisse your hands, and vow unto you the faithfull observance of

Your Lordships

*Bruxels* 3<sup>d</sup>. of Septemb.

1622.

Most humble and devoted  
Servant,

*Richard Weston.*

*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**Y**OUR Grace shall adde much to the infinite favours I have received from you to read a few lines from me, much more to vouchsafe them an answer, which I am the more bold to begg, and the more hopeful to obtain, because I understand by *Sir George Goring*, that howsoever I have had many ill offices done me, your Grace will not easily depart from that opinion, you have hitherto conceived of me, for which I humbly thank your Grace, and intreat the continuance of it no longer, then I shall be able to make good the integrity of my heart unto you. But that, which with all humilitie, and importunitie I sue for at your Graces hands, is to let me know my Accuser, and if your Grace think it unreasonable now, that I may have a promise to know him at your return. Whatsoever, or how great soever he be, (though respect, and reverence of those eyes which shall read these lines make me forbear ill language now) I shall dare to tell him, whatsoever becomes a wronged innocent to say. In the mean time, I despise him, if there be any such that hath accused me since your Graces departure, to have done, or said, or given way to the hearing of any thing that may be wrested to the impeachment of my faith and sincere professions towards your Grace; and yet till it come to the tryal, I relie (as I wrote to *Sir George Goring*) no lesse upon your Graces wisdom and goodness, then my own innocencie, that

*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

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that such Calumnies shall not lessen the estimation I had with you; wherein being most confident praying for the continuance and increase of your Graces honour and happiness, I remain

Your Graces

Most humble and devoted  
servant,

17. July,  
1623.

*Richard Weston.*

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*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Humbly thank your Grace for the Message I received from you Yesterday by Mr. *Packer*. And withal I humbly beseech your Grace to believe, that no man shall condemn me more, then I would my self, if I had omitted any possible diligence either to interest, or acquaint your Grace with the Commission of the *Treasurie*. Wherein I appeal to Mr. *Secretarie Conway*, who first declared his Majesties pleasure unto me, which I could not ascribe more to any Cause, then your Graces favour, and good opinion of me. And at my last being with your Grace, I began to speak with you of it, but finding your Grace to grow into some indisposition, I forbore, thinking it not only incivillie, but a violence to have spoken any thing of my self to your Grace at that time. This I intreated Sir *George Goring* to relate unto your Grace, and withal to renew the professions of my love and reverence to your Graces person, which I had rather make good by real performances then by words, and therefore I will trouble your Grace no longer upon this subject.

I am now extreemly importuned by the Earl of *Middlesex* to sollicite his Majestie for the first testimonie of his gracious disposition towards him. And your Grace remembers, that in the beginning of his Lordships troubles, his Majestie commanded me to deliver unto his Majestie, whatsoever his Lordship should petition of him.

Now I humbly beseech your Grace to direct me what to do: His Lordship sues for his enlargement, and I know desires to derive that favour from his Majestie by your Graces mediation. And I am careful to perform all duties, my obedience to his Majestie, my respect to

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your



*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

your Grace, and my care of him (that relieth upon me) being in affliction. And therefore I humbly beseech your Grace to vouchsafe me an answer to this particular, because his Majestie goeth from hence to morrow, and the Earl of *Middlesex* will languish with expectation till he receive some comfort from him. And so continually praying for the increase of your Graces health, I remain

Your Graces

Most humble servant;

29. May,  
1624.

*Richard Weston.*

*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Have according to his Majesties Command signified to me by Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, delivered to the Earl of *Middlesex* his Majesties pleasure concerning his Fine. The news of it did extremely dismay him, as being far contrary to his expectation. He used not many words; but thereof I having given Mr. Secretarie a particular account in answer of the charge I received from his Majestie, I will not trouble your Grace with the repetition of them.

The chief cause of this unto your Grace is, to acquaint your Grace with a short Dialogue that passed between Mr. *Brett* and me touching his Pension.

He sent his man to me this week to demand it; to whom I made this answer, That the charge of the Progresse being settled, I would consider of the payment of his Masters pension amongst others, before which time I could not in that case give satisfaction to any. He went away with this answer, and immediately after (within less then a quarter of an hour) Mr. *Brett* himself came to me, and asked me at the first word, Whether I had any Command to stay his Pension. I replied, No other command then the want of money. He told me, That the rest of his fellowes were paid: I said it was true, I was to have care of them that immediately followed his Majestie, when I was forced to intreat others to have patience till more moneyes came in. He asked me again, Whether I had any Command to stay his? I answered

red as before; wherewith he parted from me, as it seemed, not pleased.

This peradventure is not worth troubling your Grace withal, but that because his Majestie was pleased to acquaint me with his just indignation against him at *VVansted*, I would be glad to receive some direction, what answer I shall make upon his next importunitie. And so humbly intreating your Grace ever to number me amongst those that do most honour and pray for you, I remain

Your Graces

*Chelsey 23. July,*  
1624.

Most humble and faithful  
servant,

*Richard VVeston:*

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*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I did scarce esteem my Letter worthie your Graces reading, much lesse worthie your paines to answer it. It is my duty upon all occasions great and small, to pay unto your Grace those observances I owe you. And when your Grace vouchsafes to take knowledge of them, it is your favour, and therefore I humbly thanke your Grace for vouchsafing an answer.

I have according to his Majesties commandement signified by your Grace unto me, taking the best order I can about the Wardship of the Ladie *Cravens* Son. The most of the Officers of the Court of Wardes being out of the town, I have spoken with Sir *Benjamin Rudder*, who assured me, that there is nothing yet done, nor can be, till there be a master, or that the Officers meet together, and that he will take care that nothing shall be done to the prejudice of his Majestie.

And for the more Caution, I have commanded the Clerk of Court, if any man petition, or sue about the Wardship, that there be no proceeding till he acquaint me with it. This is all can be done for the present, and thereof I think fit to give your Grace account, in answer of the charge I have received from his Majestie. And so humbly

*Sir Francis Cottington to the Duke*

humbly craving leave to kisse your Graces hands, I wish your Grace  
continual increase of honour and happinesse, and remain

Your Graces

Most humble and faithful  
Servant,

*Chelsey* 12<sup>th</sup>  
August 1624.

*Richard Weston.*

*Sir Francis Cottington to the Duke.*

*May it please your Honour,*

**M**Y last unto you was of the 23. of September by Mr. *Barris*, who that day departed from hence towards England, with intention to take passage by Sea from *St. Sebastians* : and although I conceive, that this conveyance will be much speedier (it being by an extraordinarie dispatched for *Flanders*) yet for that I hold the other to be sure, I will not forbear to trouble your Honour with any repetition of that dispatch.

The strength and boldnesse of the Pyrats (or rather of the Turks) is now grown to that hieght both in the Ocean, & *Mediterranean* seas; as I have never known any thing to have wrought a greater sadnesse and distraction in the Court, then the daily advice thereof. Their whole Fleet consists of 40. Sail of tall ships, of between 200. and 400. tuns a piece ; Their Admiral of 500. tuns. They are divided into 2. Squadrons, the one of 18. Sail remaining before *Malaga* (in sight of the Citie) the other about the *Cape St. Marie*, which is between *Lisbone*, and *Sevil*. That Squadron within the *Straights* entred the rode of *Mosbil* (a Town by *Malaga*) wherewith their ordnance, they beat down a part of the Castle, and had doublelesse taken the town, but that from *Granado* there came Souldiers to succor it; yet they took there divers ships, and amongst them 3. or 4. of the west part of *England*. Two bigg English ships they drave on shoar, not past four Leagues from *Malaga*; and after they went on shoar also, and burnt them, and to this day they remain before *Malaga*, intercepting all ships, that passe that way, and absolutely prohibiting all trade into those parts of *Spain*. The other Squadron at the *Cape St. Marie* doth there the like, intercepting all shipping whatsoever

soever. They lately met with seven sail of English ships, (all of London as I take it) but laden only with pipelaves, which they had taken on the Coast of Ireland by the way. Five of these, viz. the *Marie Anne*, the *Marie* and *John*, the *Rebecca*, and *Gibbs* of Sandwich, and one *John Cheyney* of London they took, and the other two escaped. They robb'd them ouerly of their victuals, their Ordnance, and of some sayls, and so let them go, but in their company was also taken a great Ship of *Lubek*, sayd to be very rich, which they still keep with all the men. They have few or no Christians aboard them, but all either *Turky*, or *Mooris*, and the most part are of those, which of late years were turned out of Spain for *Adorissos*. They attend (as it seems) and as themselves report to them that have been aboard them (the coming of the *West Indian Fleet*, which is now very near.) But from hence they have commanded the *Armada* (which was divided into three Squadrons) to be joyned together, and advice is brought that it is so, and now consists of twenty strong ships; Don *John Fawardo* (the General) hath also expresse order to fight with the Pyrats, not admitting any excuse whatsoever, but the common opinion is here, that we will be able to do them little harm, because his ships are of great burthen, and they will be able to go from him at their pleasure. And the other Squadron within the *Straights* will alwaies be able to secure their retreat thither. I doubt not but in my next dispatch, I shall be able to tell your Honour what Don *John Fawardo* either hath or will do to them. If this year they safely return to *Argier* (especially if they should take any of the Fleet) it is much to be feared, that the King of *Spains* forces by Sea will not be sufficient to restrain them hereafter, so much sweetnesse they find by making prize of all Christians whatsoever. The Secretary of the Councel of war, hath hereupon discoursed much unto me, and by him I perceive, that here is an intencion, to move his Majestie (the King our Master) that he will be pleased to joyn some of his Sea-forces (upon good terms) with this King, for the suppressing of these Pyrats, if they should hereafter grow, and increase as hitherto they have done. Seeing they now profess themselves the common enemies of Christendom. Many reasons he gave me, that he thought might move his Majestie thereunto, but that whereon for my part I most reflect is, that these courses of the Pyrats, do but exercise the forces of the King of Spain by Sea, and put an obligation on him by all meanes to strengthen, and increase his *Armada*, and keep in practise his Sea-souldiers, without doing him any great harm, for that the greatest dammage will alwaies fall upon the Merchants that trade  
into



into those parts (of which the English will ever be the greatest number, and the greatest losers) And as for the taking of his Fleet, it is not to be imagined, for that besides, that they come very strong (consisting of 50 great ships, of which eight are Gallions of war) they shall alwayes be meet, and guarded by the *Armada*. Your Honour may be pleased to acquaint his Majestie with what I here write, for I perceive it is expected, that I should advertize what the Secretarie hath discoursed to me, which I would have done more at large; but I am straightned with want of time. Yet I may not forbear to advertize your Honour, that the said Secretarie told me withal, that the last year the States desired leave of this King for certain ships of war (which they had armed to Sea against *Pyrats*) might have safe recourse into these parts, which was accordingly granted them, but that instead of offending the *Pyrats*, the same ships sold in *Argier* as much Powder, and other warlike provision (especially powder) unto the *Turks*, as furnished the foresaid Fleet which they have now at Sea, a thing which is here (he sayes) very ill taken. I doubt not but from *Piemonnt* your Honour hath better advertizement (at least more speedier) then I can give you from hence, yet have I thought it fit to advertize you, that in a late ambush, which the Duke of *Savoy* had layed, at *Don Pedro de Tolledo's* entrance into *Piemonnt*, the *Maestro de Campo* of the *Spanish* armie was slain; the Son of the Prince of *Astoli* was hurt: so was the Prince of *Murvels* (who serves this King there) and many other Captaines, and Gentlemen of note slain and hurt. They here say that the number of men *Don Pedro* lost was but few, but their custome is to dissemble their losses; howsoever it is to be conceived, that when so many principal men were touched, the common Souldiers could not well escape.

At *Lisbone* there is arrived two Caracks, and a Gallion from the *East-Indies*, the Caracks very rich, and much richer then in former years, but (as in a former Letter I advertised you) two others as rich as they, and that should have come in company with these, were cast away coming home.

*Don-Roderigo Calderon* (now the *Marquesse de Las Siete Iglesias*) is suddenly commanded from this Court, and confined to a small Village, and Judges are appointed to examine by what means he is so suddenly grown to so great an estate (which in my time is risen from nothing to above 60000. Duckets a year rent, besides an infinite treasure in moveables) and doubtlesse some heavie sentence will fall upon him, for he hath many enemies, and I understand that the Duke of *Lerma* hath much withdrawn his favour.

*The Lord Viscount Rochfort to the Duke.*

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New supplies of Souldiers are here raised for the Governour of *Millan*, and 30. Companies are ready to be imbarqued at *Valencia*, where the Gallies attend them.

Here is lately come hither one who calls himself Sir *James Mackenel* a Scotchman, and sayes he is Cousin german to the Earl of *Argyle*: I have not seen him, but I hear he discourses of his breaking out of the Castle of *Edenborough*, of the unjustnesse of his imprisonment there, of his integritie in the Popes Religion, and so desires to be entertained into this Kings service, which doubtlesse he shall obtain if he can make it here be believed, that he hath a true fugitives heart.

My Lord *Rosse* is now much hearkened after, and they think he staies very long. By the ordinarie (God willing) I shall write again to your Honour. And so for this time I humbly take my leave

Your Lordships

*Madrid* the first of  
Octob. 1616. *Ssil. Vet.*

to be Commanded,

*Fran. Cottington.*

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*The Lord Viscount Rochfort to the Duke of  
Buckingham.*

*My Lord,*

I Have received great wrongs about my Lord of *Oxford* by reports, which can find no authour: yet have they wrought such impressions in the hearts of some, that it is hard to remove those Calumniationes: for divers are possessed, that I am to be his accuser, which is so strange, and so maliciously bruited, that it is somewhat suspected; yet know I not any one particular, for which he is in the Tower, neither if I knew any such slip (in so noble a person as might deserve the Kings displeasure) would my nature give me leave to play the Informer, except it neerly concerned the safetie, or the honour of my King, and then should my discoverie be publique to the face, and not private behind the back, for that I account too base to be found faultie in.

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Sorry

*The Lord Viscount Rochfort to the Duke.*

Sorry I am to be so much as suspected, but since ill disposed persons will raise ill rumours without any ground, the cleernesse of my heart is sufficient content unto me; and as my heart hath been alwaies most faithfull and watchfull to do you service; so good my Lord, let me intreat you, that for my sake, my Lord of *Oxford* may receive some testimonies of your great favour for his speedy enlargement, and that it may appear, you are the more willing to do it, for my earnest intreatie. My Lord, you shall not onely hereby oblige all my Lord of *Oxford's* friends, but likewise the Lady *Diana's*, who doth lose a great deal of precious time by my Lords imprisonment, and therefore let all be arguments to excite your noble heart to procure his freedome. And so I kisse your hands, and rest.

More yours

then his own,

H. R.

*Postscript.*

PRay make all haste from *Spain*, for neither are your pleasures and contents so great there, as you may find them here, neither have you so faithfull friends there as you deserve; but sure I am you have many false ones. For I have work enough both in Court and Citie to falsifie their reports of you; yea some of them (about women) very base ones, and much tending to your great dishonour. And it goes currant among very great ones, that the Prince hath been somewhat displeased with you of late. I have sent you another Letter of larger contents, and I should be glad to hear from you.

King James to Pope Gregorie 15<sup>th</sup>. 30. Septem-  
ber, 1622.

James by the Grace of God King of great *Brittain, France* and  
*Ireland*, Defender of the faith, &c. To the most Holy Fa-  
ther Pope *Gregorie* the 15<sup>th</sup>. greeting, and all manner  
of Felicitie.

*Most Holy Father,*

Y Our Holinesse will perhaps marvel, that we differing from you  
in point of Religion should now first salute you with our Letters.  
Howbeit such is the trouble of our mind for these calamitous discords  
and bloodsheds, which for these late years by past, have so miser-  
ably rent the Christian World, and so great is our care, and daily sol-  
licitude to stop the course of these growing evils betimes, so much  
as in us lies, as we could no longer abstain, considering that we all  
worship the same most blessed Trinitie, nor hope for salvation by  
any other means, then by the blood and merits of our Lord and Sa-  
viour Christ Jesus; but breaking this silence to move your Holinesse  
by these our Letters friendly and seriously, that you would be pleased  
together with us to put your hand to so pious a work, and so worthy  
of a Christian Prince.

It is truly to be wished, and by all means to be endeavoured, that  
this mischief creep on no farther, but that these storms at the last  
ceasing, and the rancor being removed, by which they were at the first  
raised, the hearts of these Princes, whom it any way concerns, may  
be re-united in a firm and unchangeable friendship, and as much as  
may be knit together in stricter obligations then before, one unto an-  
other.

This we have alwaies had in our desires, and to bring it to passe,  
have not hitherto spared any labour, or pains, not doubting but your  
Holinesse out of your singular pietie, and for the credit and autho-  
ritie that you have with the parties, both may and will further this  
work in an extraordinary manner. No way can any man better me-  
rit of the state of Christendome, which if it shall take the desired  
effect in your daies, and by your assistance your Holinesse shall  
worthily reap the glorie and the reward due to so excellent a  
work.



*Pope Gregoric the 15<sup>th</sup>. to the Prince of Wales.*

That which remains for us further to say concerning this matter, this Gentleman our Subject *George Gage* will deliver unto you more at large. Praying your Holinesse, that you will give him in all things full credence and belief, beseeching Almighty God from our heart to preserve you in safetie, and to grant you all other happinesse.

From our Palace at *Hampton Court* the last of Septemb. 1622.

*Pope Gregoric the 15<sup>th</sup>. to the Prince of Wales.*

*Most Noble Prince, Health and light of Divine Grace, &c.*

**G**reat *Brittain* abounding with worthy men, and fertile virtues, so that the whole earth is full of the glorie of her renown, induceth many times the thoughts of the great Shepherd to the consideration of her praises. In regard that presently in the infancie of his Church, the King of kings vouchsafed to choose her with so great affection for his inheritance, that almost it seems there entred into her at the same time the Eagles of the *Roman* Standard, and the Ensigns of the Crosse. And not few of her Kings indoctrinated in the true knowledge of Salvation gave example of Christian pietie to other Nations, and after-ages, preferring the Crosse to the Scepter, and the defence of Religion to the desire of Command. So that meriting heaven thereby (the Crown of eternal blisse) they obtained likewise upon earth the lustre, and glorious ornaments of sanctitie. But in this time of the *Brittanicks* Church, how much is the case altered? yet we see that to this day the English Court is fenced and guarded with moral virtues, which were sufficient motives to induce us to love this Nation, it being some ornament to the Christian name, if it were likewise a defence and sanctuarie of Catholique virtues.

Wherefore the more the glorie of your most Serene Father, and the property of your naturall disposition delighteth us, the more ardently we desire, that the gates of Heaven should be opened unto you, and that you should purchase the universal love of the Church. For whereas, that the Bishop *Gregoric* the Great of most pious memorie introduced amongst the English people, and taught their Kings the Gospel, and a reverence to the *Apostolical* Authority, we much inferior to him in virtue, and sanctity, as equal in name, and height of dignity, it is reason we should follow his most holy steps, and procure

procure the salvation of those Kingdomes, especiallie (most Serene Prince) there being great hopes offered to us at this time of some successful issue of your determination.

Wherefore you having come to *Spain* and the Court of the Catholique King, with desire to match with the house of *Austria*, it seemed good to use most affectionately to commend this your intent, and to give clear testimony, that at this time your person is the most principal care that our Church hath. For seeing you pretend to match with a Catholique Damosel, it may easily be presumed, that the antient seed of Christian pietie, which so happilie flourished in the minds of *British* Kings, may by Gods Grace reverberate in your breast. For it is not probable, that he, that desires such a wife, should abhor the Catholique religion, and rejoyce at the overthrow of the holy *Romane* Church. To which purpose we have caused continual prayers to be made, and most vigilant orisons to the Father of Lights for you (fair flower of the Christian world, and only hope of great *Brittain*) that he would bring you to the possession of that most Noble inheritance, which your Ancestors got you by the defence of the Apostolique authority, and destruction of monsters of barities. Call to memorie the times of old; ask your forefathers, and they will shew you what way leades to heaven, and perceiving what path mortal Princes passe to the Heavenly Kingdom, behold the Gates of heaven open. Those most holy Kings of *England*, which parting from *Rome* accompanied with Angels, most piously revered the Lord of Lords, and the Prince of the Apostles in his Chair. Their works and examples are mouthes wherewith God speaks, and warneth you, that you should imitate their customes in whose Kingdomes you succeed.

Can you suffer that they be called Heretiques, and condemned for wicked men, when the faith of the Church testifieth, that they reign with Christ in Heaven, and are exalted above all the Princes of the Earth, and that they at this time reached you their hands from that most blessed Country, and brought you safely to the Court of the Catholique King, and desire to turn you to the womb of the *Romane* Church; wherein praying most humbly with most unspeakable groans to the God of mercy for your salvation, to reach you the arms of Apostolical charity to imbrace most lovingly your children, so often desired, and to poynt out as it were with a finger the blessed hopes of Heaven. And truly you could do no act of greater comfort to all Nations of Christendom, then to return the possession of those most Noble Isles to the Prince of the Apostles, whose authority

*The Princes answer to the Popes Nuntio &c.*

ty for so many ages was held in *England* for the defence of the Kingdom, and divine Oracle, which will not be uneasy to do if you open your breast (upon which depends the prosperity of those Kingdoms) to God who is knocking. And we have so great desire of the honour and exaltation of your Royal Name, that we wish, that you should be called through the whole world (together with your most Serene Father) the Freer of Great *Britain*, and restorer of her antient Religion. Whereof we will not lose all hopes, putting them in mind in whose hands the hearts of Kings lie, and he that rules all nations of the world, by whose Grace we will with all possible diligence labour to effect it. And you cannot choose but acknowledge in these Letters the care of our Apostolical charity to procure your happiness, which it will never repent us to have written, if the reading thereof shall at leastwise stir some sparks of Catholique religion in the heart of so Great a Prince, who we desire may enjoy Eternal comforts, and flourish with the Glorie of all virtues. Given in *Rome* in the Palace of *St. Peter* the 20. of April 1623. In the third of our Pontifcado.

*The Princes answer to the Popes Nuntio that brought him this Letter.*

**I** Kisse his Holinesse Feet for the favour and honour he doth me, so much the more esteemed, by how much the lesse deserved of me hitherto. And his Holinesse shall see what I do hereafter, and I think my Father will do the like. So that his Holinesse shall not repent him of what he hath done.

*The Prince of Wales his Reply to the Popes Letter.*

*Most Holy Father,*

**I** Received the Dispatch from your Holinesse with great content, and with that respect which the pietie and care wherewith your Holinesse writes, doth require: It was an unspeakable pleasure to me to read the generous exploits of the Kings my predecessours, in whose memorie, posterity hath not given those praises and Elogies of honour as were due to them: I do believe that your Holinesse hath set their examples before my eyes, to the end I might imitate them in all my

my actions, for in truth they have often exposed their estates and lives for the exaltation of the holy Chair; and the courage with which they have assaulted the enemies of the Crosse of Jesus Christ, hath not been lesse then the care and thought which I have, to the end that the peace and intelligence which hath hitherto been wanting in Christendom, might be bound with a true and strong concord: for as the common enemy of the peace watcheth alwaies to put hatred and dissention amongst Christian Princes, so I believe that the glory of God requires that we should endeavour to unite them: And I do not esteem it a greater honour to be descended from so great Princes, then to imitate them in the zeal of their piety. In which it helps me very much to have known the mind and will of our thrice honoured Lord and Father, and the holy intentions of his Catholique Majestie to give a happy concurrence to so laudable a design: for it grieves him exceedingly to see the great evils that grow from the division of Christian Princes, which the wisdom of your Holinesse foresaw, when it judged the marriage which you pleased to design between the Infanta of Spain and my self, to be necessary to procure so great a good: for 'tis very certain, that I shall never be so extreemly affectionate to any thing in the world, as to endeavour alliance with a Prince that hath the same apprehension of the true Religion with my self: Therefore I intreat your Holinesse to believe, that I have been alwaies very far from Novelties, or to be a partisan of any faction against the Catholick, Apostolick Roman Religion: But on the contrary, I have sought all occasions to take away the suspicion that might rest upon me, and that I will imploy my self for the time to come, to have but one Religion and one Faith, seeing that we all believe in one Jesus Christ. Having resolved in my self, to spare nothing that I have in the world, and to suffer all manner of discommunities, even to the hazarding of my estate and life, for a thing so pleasing unto God: It rests onely that I thank your Holinesse, for the permission you have been pleased to afford me, and I pray God to give you a blessed health and his glory after so much pains which your Holinesse takes in his Church.

Signed,

*Charles Stuart*

ten in the book of David, whom the Lord hath chosen, and the Monarchs of Christianitie, shall have you amongst them, while men in whose splendour Kings walk, but who are not in this life, and what rewards shall be to come, but who are in this life, would reward you now, saying, who know the King, to be by which the Kingdom of heaven is conferred, it is not only our Pontifical charity (so whose care the salvation of mankind be-  
(continued)



*The Pope to the Duke of Buckingham.**Gregorie P. P. XV.**Nobleman, health and the light of Divine Grace.*

**T**He authority wherein we have understood your Noblenesse to flourish in the *Brittish* Court, is accounted not onely the reward of your merits, but also the patronage of virtue; certainly an excellent renown, and every way so worthy, that the people desire a diuturnity to be annexed unto it. But it is almost ineffable, what an increase of glory thoroughout the world would be annexed unto it, if by Gods favour it should become the defence of Catholique Religion.

Certainly you have gained an opportunity by which you may insert your self into the Councels of those Princes, who obtaining an immortal name, have attained the Celestial Kingdom.

Suffer not then (O Nobleman) this occasion presented to you from God, and commended by the Bishop of *Rome*, to slip out of your hands.

You that are privie to their royal Councels cannot choose but know in what estate the affaires of *Brittain* at this time stand, and with what voyces of the Holy Ghost (speaking in them) they daily sound in the ears of your Princes. What Glorie would redound unto your Name, if by your exhortation and perswasion, the English Kings should again recover their Celestial inheritance of that Glorie left unto them by their Ancestours in those Kingdomes in abundant manner, by providing for the increase of Gods Worship, and by not only defending, but propagating the jurisdiction of the Pontifical authority. There have been many, and shall be hereafter, whom the bonntie of Kings hath enriched with fading riches, and advanced to envied titles, and yet mindful posterity will not celebrate your name with eternal Prayses for having attayned these: but if your Councels should reduce those most powerful Kings and people unto the bosom of the *Romane* Church, the name of your Noblenesse would be written in the book of the living, whom the torment of Death toucheth not, and the Monuments of Histories, shall place you amongst those wise men in whose splendor Kings walked; but with what comforts in this life, and what rewards in the life to come, God who is rich in mercy would reward you, they easily see, who know the art, and force by which the Kingdom of heaven is conquered. It is not only our Pontifical charity (to whose care the salvation of mankind pertaineth)

cineth) but also the piety of your Mother, who as she brought you into the world, so she desireth to bear you again to the *Romane* Church, which she acknowledgeth for her mother, that moved us to desire, that you were made Partakers of so great felicity. Therefore when our beloved son the religious man *Didacus de la Fuente*, who hath wisely administred the affaires of your Princes in this City) prepared his journie for *Spain*, we commanded him to come unto your Noblenesse, and present these our Apostolical Letters, by which the Greatnesse of our Pontifical charity, and the desire of your salvation may be declared. Your Noblenesse may therefore heare him as the interpreter of our mind, and as one indued with these virtues which have won him the love of forraign nations being a Catholique, and religious priest: He certainly hath reported those things of you in these parts of the world, that he is worthie to be imbraced of you with singular affection, and defended by your authority being a servant to the Glorie, and salvation of the *Brittish* Kings, and people. This thing truly will we pray for to the father of mercies that he will open to your Noblenesse the gates of his Coelestial kingdom, and afford you frequent Documents of his Clemency. Given at *Rome* at *St. Marie* the Greater under the Ring of the *Fisherman* the 19. of May. 1623. and of our *Popedom* the third,

*John Champolus.*

To his Sacred Majestie ab ignoto.

*My most Gracious King,*

These things which your Majestie did lately command to be spoken unto you, and now to be repeated in writing, are not such as they can be made by legal and Judicial proofes, both because they by whose testimony they may be confirmed, do for fear of a most potent adversarie withdraw themselves. And also because they think it a crime to come into the Embassadours house, yea even they are afraid to do it, who have commandement from your Majestie; but neither was it lawful for the Embassadours themselves to speak these things, especially not to such as they directed, when the order of the affaires required it, because they had never the freedom to speak unto your Majestie, and no audience was given or granted them

them in the absence of the Duke of Buckingham. An example certainly unusual with other Kings, and never to be taken in good part, unless it be perhaps, when the King himself wanting experience, and being of weak judgment and no wisdom, some one, that is familiar, and inward with the King, a man wise and circumspect, of great judgment and no less experience, supplies the Kings place. But here, when all things go preposterously, and the King himself being a most prudent, and experienced Prince, he that is familiar, or favorite doth in all things shew himself, a rash, headie young man, a Novice in managing of business, and to the Crown of Spain most offensive. Certainly by all just right, this man was to be kept away from the audience of the Embassadour of the State. We may also be bold to say, that his presence so earnestly desired of him doth argue a great fear in him, and a great distrust in him, as well of his own upright conscience, as also the Kings wisdom. Hence therefore it is come to passe, that your Majesties most faithful Vassals dare not so much as indirectly disclose their minds to the King, though they take it in very ill part, that a very good King should be driven into such streights. And that a man pleasing himself in his own designs, should use the favours of Princes so sinisterly, that he doth of set purpose stir up breach of friendship, and enmity between most Mighty Kings.

Besides, who can without a discontented mind endure, that the greatest affaires, and of greatest moment (if any in the Christian world can be so tearmed) shall be ordered, or concluded at the pleasure of your Parliament, and from thence all things carried on with a headlong violence, at his will and pleasure, and a most deadly war to be preferred before a most happie Peace. When as nevertheless, I am not ignorant, that not so much the restitution of the *Palatinate*, as the very claime to it, will very difficultly be obtained, or recovered by force of armes. Let your Majestie exactly consider as it useth to do, whether this be not an evident argument of that I have said, that the conference, or treatie about the *Palatinate* was taken from the Council of State, a Society of most prudent men, only for this cause, that almost everie one of them, had with one consent approved the proposition of the most Catholique King, and did not find in it any cause of dissolving that treaty. Hereupon the Parliament of this Kingdom was procured by the Duke, because he thought his plots would be most acceptable to the Puritans, not without great injury to your Council of State, from which he fled, and disclaimed by way of an appeale, and with such success, that we may be bold to say, that the Parliament is now above the King. Nay, which is more, that this

daring

daring Duke propounded many things to the Parliament in the Kings name, your Majestie being neither acquainted with them nor willing to them. Yea and that he propounded many things contrary to your Majesties service. Who is there that doth not see, and commend the royal disposition of the Prince, adorned with so great endowments, of his mind, that he doth not in them all shew, and approve himself to be a very good son, of a very good King. And yet nevertheless, that the Duke doth so much presume upon his favour, that he contemneth all men, as knowing that those, who are obedient to his Highnesse, will also subject themselves to his will. I would to God, he did direct those his actions, to the good of the Prince. But that is a thing so far from the opinion of good men, that they rather believe, that he, who hath overthrowen the marriage with *Spain*, will be of no lesse power to the breaking of any other marriage, and that is it which many do prophesie.

They knew in *Spain*, that very same day, that he had received Letters from the most illustrious Prince *Palatine*, that he caused the procuration to be revoked, and in a few dayes after, when the coming of the foresaid Princes Secretarie, and the confirmation of his hope of having his Daughter married to her Highnesse son, all things were utterly dashed in pieces. Let your Majestie have a care of your self, and the Prince, and foresee the hurts, and damages, which a man of such a turbulent humour may stir up; whose headie spirit your Majestie saith you have noted. and have desired to mitigate.

A man (I say) that is ambitious of popular ayr, as plainly appeared in Parliament, when the casting of all odious matter upon your Majestie, he did arrogate the thanks of all things that were acceptable, to himself, being stiled the redeemer of his countrie. I say again, a man that hath envied so great a good to the Christian world, and principally to the kingdomes of *England* and *Spain*, having used some certain meanes, which do argue, that he aymed at such an end, as many already do fear. and to prophesie in it the worst event that can be, if the Puritans desire a kingdome (which they do against their wills) they wish it not to the most illustrious Prince, the best and true Heir of your Majestie, but to the Prince *Palatine*, whose spie and Scout *Mausfelt* is, what shew soever he makes. He that makes these things known to your Majestie dischargeth the part of a good man, as well towards God, as your Majestie, and the illustrious Prince, whom it now standeth in hand to foresee the vengeance of God provided by the Dukes plots, and the furie of the Parliament, there having been so many, and so great testimonies published against *Spain*



contrarie to truth, so many, and so frequent infamous Libels begotten and brought forth, and many such other things so full of bitterness, and ignominie, that they cannot be read even of our enemies, without some taint upon the English Nation.

It is most apparent, and stories will testifie, that here Leagues have been broken by the will and pleasure of them, whom it especiallie concerneth to provide for your peace, and quier, and to wish from the bottom of their hearts, that after many, and these most happie, yeares, that Motto of yours (blessed be the Peace-makers) might be verified in Letter of the person of your Majestie, and to propound the same Counsel to the most illustrious Prince to be imitated, which your Majestie hath done to the whole world to be commended, and admired. A happie Prince will he be, if he comes, and succeeds peaceably into the hereditarie possession of his kingdom, and which will be of no lesse advantage to him, having his peace established with those Princes, whose friendship and amitie your Majestie hath procured, and deserved. He would certainly love and commend those that had given him those Counsels of peace. Peace and tranquillitie are by hereditarie right devolved to the most illustrious Prince, in as much as he is born of the Father, who hath with so much industrie procured them, not onely to this Island, but to the continent also, esteeming them at a higher value, then his kingdoms themselves.

Which since it is thus, and that the blood of his Father, which is in him, and the love wherewith he is carried towards your Majestie, and the experience of this your most happie Government, and that great example wherewith your Majestie hath drawn, and won the Christian world to an admiration, and love of you, did all direct the most illustrious Prince with a kind of connatural motion to the same Counsel, and purpose of peace, as might have heretofore been likewise hoped. Certainly this Machination is very strong, violent, and mighty, which doth suddainely labour to turn him into a clean contrarie course.

And questionlesse if the very entrance into a war, the war it self if it want justice, it will want also happie successe. It cannot be unknown to your Majestie, that the Duke of *Buckingham* carrieth himself so lofty; that he would have all men perswaded that he hath, and doth exercise a kind of dominion over the will of your Majestie, and of his Highnesse. All things shall be made manifest to your Majestie, if you will have them so; for there are not meanes wanting, whereby you may free your vassal from fear and diffidence, who will

will otherwise dare nothing, nor say nothing, which certainly appears so far to be true, that when all things standing as they do, it is an easie matter to find who will speak against your Majestie, yet there is none that dare speak against the Duke.

Let your Majestie call some certain men unto you, and sift out of them, the opinion of the more moderate Parliament, and enquire of those that come out of *Spain*, who did first give the first cause of falling out? whether the Complaints against the King of *Spain* be true, or no? whether that foresaid King were not desirous to satisfy the desire of the Prince his Highnesse? Whether he did not faithfully endeavour to effect the marriage? Whether the Duke of *Buckingham* did not many things against the authoritie and reverence due to the most illustrious Prince? Whether he was not wont to be sitting, whilst the Prince stood, and was in presence, and also having his feet resting upon another seat, after an undecent manner? Whether when the Prince was uncovered, whilst the Queen, and Infanta, looked out at the Windowes he uncovered his head, or no? Whether sitting at the Table with the Prince he did not behave himself unreverently? Whether he were not wont to come in to the Princes Chamber with his cloathes half on, so that the doors could not be opened to them that came to visit the Prince from the King of *Spain*, the Door-keepers refusing to go in for modesties sake? Whether he did not call the Prince by ridiculous names? Whether he did not dishonour and prophane the Kings Palace with base and contemptible women? Whether he did not divers obscene things, and used not immodest gesticulations and wanton Tricks with Players in the presence of the Prince? Whether he did not violate his faith given to the *Conde Olivares*? Whether he did not presently communicate his discontents, offences and complaints to the Embassadors of other Princes? Whether in doing of his businesse, he did not use frequent threatenings unto the Catholique Kings Ministers, and to Apostolical Nuns? Whether he did not affect to sit at Playes presented in the Kings Palace after the manner and example of the King, and Prince, being not contented with the honour that is ordinarily given to the High Steward, or *Major domo* of the Kings house. Besides all these things which have heretofore been told your Majestie, there is yet this more, that is new:

That the Duke of *Buckingham* (with what intention let others judge) hath divulged in Parliament some secret Treatie negotiated betwixt your Majestie and the King of *Spain* touching the affaires of *Holland*, the secrecie whereof, neverthelesse your Majestie had so recommended.

*To the King, ab ignoto.*

recommended, that besides the King, and the *Coude of Olivares*, no man in *Spain* knew of it.

If the Duke do not appear guilty of all these things, let him be still your Majesties most faithful servant, and let your Majestie yet confer upon him greater Honours, if you can. For I would have these things conceived to be spoken for the securitie of your Majestie; not for the hurt of him, to whom I wish prosperitie, if by him the Christian world might be in prosperitie.

It onely remaineth, that your Majestie will be pleased to take in good part this my service and obedience shewed to your Commandements.

*To the King, ab ignoto.*

*Best, and most excellent King,*

**Y**OU will wonder that he who at first protesteth to be neither Papist nor Puritan, *Spaniard* nor *Hollander*, or yet in any delirium fit, should presume in this Libel-like way, to lay down to your Majestie the strong zeal he beareth to the safetie of your Majestie, and his Countrie, by shewing in this dark Tablet (drawn by the worst Painter) the common opinion of all those which are not possessed as above.

They say, the businesse of greatest consequence, that ever your Majestie handled, is now at point to go well, or ill. The marriage, or none, and (as it is carried) a present War, or a continued Peace. The match of your son, they wish you may perfect in your own time, and think that for the quiet of your self and Kingdomes, the shortest time the best: And that this already traced will far sooner piece, then any new one have beginning and accomplishment.

They fear this suspension carried by *Killegrew* was brought by *Buckingham*, not for what he pretends, and plainly say, It was not onely to prevent his Highnesse marriage there, but any where.

Whereby, 1. His particular greatnesse may still stand absolute.

2. His Wife, and Tribe still present the Princesse person.

3. And your Majestie be, and remain their Pupil.

The Parliament so much urged, they say, is to be a marrying his Mightinesse unto the Common Weal, that as your Majestie is his good

good Father, It may be his Mother, and so he stand not only by the King, but by the People, and popular humour, that he hath lately so earnestly courted, and especially from those who are noted to be of the most troubled humour.

How your Majestie should gain upon a Parliament they cannot imagine, seeing all are resolved to sell your Courtesies at the dearest rate both by ill words, and for double as much again, the humour of it being so inconstant, that twenty to one, but those very tongues, which in the last did cry *War, War, War*, will now curse him that urgeth for one poor Subsidie to raise a War. And miserable is he, that is to make a War, or to defend against it, with money that is to be given, and gathered from them.

They say, our Great Duke hath certainly a brave desire to War, but in that also, he hath some great end of enriching himself, which he too well loveth, being carried away with that sweet sound, how *Nottingham* gained yearly during that sicknesse 40000 l. by his Admirals place; but what his Majestie gained, they find not in the Exchequer or Kingdome.

Somewhat also they fear this his Graces precipitate humour, and change of humour, hath of pride, to shew his power as great here, as is *Olivares* his there, as also of revenge against him in particular. For were it love to his now much beloved Countrie, they say, there was as much reason for breach both of the Match, and Peace when the Parliament urged it, as there is now.

They say, There is a rumour of his Graces, a match for his *Mary* with the young *Palatine*. It is no *Gorgon*; and will concern his Highnesse, if they that are now our best friends the *Hollanders* should change their Copie.

In this his Highnesse coming off from *Spain*, they say, He hath advised him to no worse then he did himself; for how many did he deflower, abuse, and couzen with marriage, by his grace in Court, and power with your Majestie?

In short, your Subjects that have sence of your estate, do most earnestly beseech your Majestie, to have more especial care of your own preservation, then ordinarily you have, both in respect of the desperate staggering which their Priests now stand in, and of your own *Phaeton* himself, who in truth wanteth nothing of man enough but a good nature, and being in custome to carry all with a high hand, must be desperate if he fail in any *Punt* of his violent will.

We know your Majestie according to the sweetness and virtue of your



*To his Sacred Majesty, ab ignoto.*

your Nature, agreeing with Gods blessed Will, hath long preserved your people in all peace and plentie. And all good and sensible people pray you even for Gods sake not to be coufused of your own life and liberty. Oh be not mislead to trouble your own Kingdoms quiet, but that after many and many a happie year you may die happily in peace.

*To his Sacred Majesty, ab ignoto.*

*May it please his most excellent Majesty to consider,*

**T**HAT this great opposition against the Duke of *Buckingham* is stirred up and maintained by such, who either maliciously, or ignorantly and concurrently seek the debasing of this free Monarchie, which because they find not yet ripe to attempt against the King himself, they endeavour it through the Dukes side. These men though agreeing in one mischief, yet are of divers sorts and humours, viz.

1. Medling, and busie persons, who took their first hint at the beginning of King *James*; when the union was treated of in Parliament. That learned King gave too much way to those popular speeches, by the frequent proof he had of his great abilities in that kind.

Since the time of *H. 6.* these Parliamentary discourfings were never suffered, as being the certain symptomes of subsequent rebellions, civil Wars, and the dethroning of our Kings. But these last 20 years most of the Parliament men seek to improve the reputation of their wisdoms by these Declamations, and no honest Patriot dare oppose them, lest he incur the reputation of a Fool, or a Coward in his Countries Cause.

2. Covetous Landlords, Inclosers, Depopulators, and Justices of the Peace, who have got a habit of Omniregencie, and an hope to extend the same against the King in Parliament, as they do on his Subjects in the Countrey. Hereby the King loseth 24000 l. in every whole Subsidie; for *Anno 1600.* it was 80000 l. and now it is but 56000 l. which cometh by the decay of the yeomandry, who were three and four pound men. And these Gentlemen (most of them of the Parliament) do ease themselves to afflict those who are the true Commons, and yet perswade them, that the grievances are caused by the Duke, and the ill government of the King.

3. Recu-

3. Recusants and Church Papists, whose hatred is irreconcilable against the Duke for the breach of the *Spanish Match*. The *French Lady*, though as zealous a Catholique, doth not please him, for they were tyed to *Spain* by their hopes of a change of Religion that way. All the Priests are sent from the *Spanish* Dominions, and the sons and daughters of the Papists remain as hostages of their fidelities in the Colledges and Nunneries of the King of *Spain*. And though the Papists have no place in the house of Commons, yet privately they aggravate all scandals against the Duke, to kindle a separation between the King and his people, and avert them from enabling the King to resist, or be avenged of our great enemy. Remember the course held by these men in the Parliament of undertakers; also Dr. *Egleham* and all the Priests daily practice libelling against all great men about the King.

4. Needy and indebted persons in both Houses, who endeavour by these Parliamentary stirres not so much the Dukes overthrow, as a rebellion, which they hope will follow if it be not done. This is much to be suspected, as well by their Calumniation against his Majesty, as for their own wants; many of them being outlawed, and not able to shew their heads, but in Parliament time by priviledge thereof, and they know, that there are enough to follow them in the same mischief.

5. Puritans and all other Sectaries, who though scarce two of them agree in what they would have, yet they all in general are haters of Government. They begun in Parliament about *Anno 23. Eliz.* and spit their venom not only against the Bishops, but also against the Lord Chancellour *Hatton*, and others, the Queens favourites, and Councillours, as they do now against the Clergie and the Duke. But their main discontentment is against the Kings Government, which they would have extinguished in matters Ecclesiastical, and limited in Temporal. This is a fearful and important Consideration, because it pretends Conscience and Religion, and they now more deadly hate the Duke, because he sheweth himself to be no Puritan, as they hoped he would at his return from *Spain*.

6. Malecontents censured or decourted for their deserts, as the kindred and dependants of the Earl of *Suffolk*, and of Sir *Henry Trelverton*, *Coke*, *Lake*, *Middlesex*, though all of them (the last excepted) were dejected by King *James* without any Concurrence of the Duke. Others because they are not preferred, as they do imagine that they deserve, as the Lord *Say*, Earl of *Clare*, Sir *John Eliot*, *Selden*, and *Glawville*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and the Bishops of *Norwich* and *Lincoln*.

These, and many others, according to the nature of envy, look upon every one with an evil eye, especially upon the Duke, who either hath, or doth not prefer them to those places, or retain them in them, which their ambition expecteth.

7. Lawyers in general, for that (as Sir *Edward Cook* could not but often expresse) our Kings have upholden the power of their Prerogatives, and the rights of the Clergie, whereby their comings in have been abated. And therefore the Lawyers are fit ever in Parliaments to second any Complaint against both Church, and King, and all his servants, with their Cases, Antiquities, Records, Statutes, Presidents, and Stories. But they cannot, or will not call to mind, that never any Nobleman in favour with his Sovereign was questioned in Parliament, except by the King himself in case of Treason, or unlesse it were in the nonage, and tumultuous times of *Rich. 2. Hen. 6. or Edw. 6.* which happened to the destruction both of the King and Kingdom. And that not to exceed our own, and Fathers memories, in King *Hen. 8.* time *Wolsey's* exorbitant power and pride, and *Cromwells* contempt of the Nobility and the Lawes, were not yet permitted to be discussed in Parliament, though they were most odious and grievous to all the Kingdom. And that *Leicester's* undeserved favour, and faults; *Hutton's* insufficiency, and *Ramleigh's* insolence far exceeded, what yet hath been (though most fallly) objected against the Duke: yet no Lawyer durst abet, nor any man else begin any Invectives against them in Parliament.

8. The Merchants and Citizens of *London* convinced (not by the Duke, but) by *Cranfield* and *Ingram*, to have deceived the King of Imposts and Customs, and deservedly fearing to be called to account for undoing all the other Cities and good Towns, and the poor Colonie of *Virginia*, as also for transporting of our silver into the *East-Indies*; these vent their malice upon the Duke in the *Star-chamber, Pauls, Westminster-Hall*, with their suggestions, and therein they wound, both to Subjects and strangers the honour of his Majesty, and his proceedings.

9. Innovators, *Plebicola*, and King-haters. At the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth* it was a phrase to speak, yea to pray for the Queen and State. This word (*State*) was learned by our neighbourhood and Commerce with the Low-Countries, as if we were, or affected to be governed by States. This the Queen saw, and hated. And the old Earl of *Oxford* his Propositions at her death, they awakened King *James* to prevent this humour, and to oppose the conditions and limitations presented unto him by the Parliaments.

The Lawyers, Citizens, and Western men (who are most hot infected with Puritanisme) stood strong against him under a colour of Parliaments, and Parliamentary priviledges. His Majestie therefore strengthened himself ever with some Favourite, as whom he might better trust then many of the Nobility tainted with this desire of Oligarchie. It behoveth without doubt his Majestie to uphold the Duke against them, who if he be but decourted, it will be the Corner stone on which the demolishing of his Monarchie will be builded. For, if they prevail with this, they have hatched a thousand other demands to pull the feathers of the Royalty, they will appoint him Councillours, Servants, Alliances, Limits of his expences, Accompts of his Revenue, chiefly if they can (as they mainly desire) they will now dazle him in the beginning of his reign.

10. King *James* and King *Charles* lastly, are the Dukes Accusers; (my meaning is, with all humble reverence to their Honours, and Memories, and to speak in the sence of the House of Commons) both their Majesties are *Conjuncta Persona* in all the aspersions that are laid upon the Duke. For instance, The Parliaments money destined for the Wars, spent in the Treaties, Messages, Embassadours, and Entertainments of the Kings marriage, and the burial of his Father, and the War in the name of the Count *Palatine*, the Breach of both the Treaties, which then Canonized the Duke, but now is made evidence against him; the Honours and Offices conferred upon him by King *James*, That his Majestie might with his own Councils direct their managing, the setting forth of the Navy, though to the Duke's great charge by both their Commandments; the Match with *France*, and generally whatsoever hath not been successeful to mens expectations. All these, though the Acts of the Kings, are imputed to the Duke, who if he suffer for obeying his Sovereigns, the next attempt will be to call the King to accompt for any thing he undertakes, which doth not prosperously succeed as all men would desire it.

If it please his Majestie to remove, and set aside all these disadvantages, He shall find the Charge laid against the Duke will prove very empty, and of small moment. And for them, if his Majestie and the Duke's Grace think it no impeachment to their Honors, all that the Parliament hath objected against the Duke, is pardoned at the Kings Coronation, which benefit every poor Subject enjoyeth. Three things onely excepted which may most easily be answered.



Mr. Ch. Th. to the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord,

IT is intimated to your Lordship, first, that you would procure his Majestie to desire the Lords to choose six (or so many as you shall think fit) of whom they have most confidence to attend him to morrow morning, to whom his Majestie may be pleased to declare; That he hath endeavoured to divert the charges against your Lordship, because his Majestie hath had sound knowledge, and experience of the service, and fidelity (though in outward shew the contrarie might justly appear) and because also he saw, it was urged with a great deal of private spleen, and perhaps not without some Papiistical device of troubling his Majesties businesse in Parliament, but seeing no suite, or perswasion could prevail to appease the distempered course, his Majestie is now forced, and so pleased to reveal some secrets, and *Arcana* of State, which otherwise in the wisdom of Kings were unfit to be opened. Here his Majestie may let them know, that the King his Father finding the *Palatinate* more then in danger to be lost, and after his Majestie being in *Spain*, and there deluded, and his abode, and return, both unsafe. It was a necessity of State to sweeten, and content the *Spaniards* with a hope of any thing that might satisfie, and redeem those engagements, and therefore willed your Lordship to yield discretely to what you should find they most desired, and this was chiefly the point of religion; so as in this and all of the like kind, your Lordship (upon his Majesties knowledge) was commanded, and but the instrument trusted by your Master in this exigent, or (if you will) extremitie. And this with other more Potent overtures (such as your Lordship best understands) may Cancel all those objections of that nature. Upon this same ground, though not in so high a degree, the sending of the ships to *Rochel* may be excused (and this is not the least fault objected in the opinion of the wisest.) Touching the vast creation of Nobility his Majestie may ask those six Lords (whereof perchance some of them may be concerned in this article,) whether they conceive any reason of King *James* his doing herein; to which I suppose, they will stand mute. Then his Majestie may say, I will tell you, and therein discover a truth, and a secret of State. My Father who was born a King, and had long experience of that Regiment, especially more traversed in this point, then perhaps ever any King, found that this State inclined much to Popularitie, a thing apparent universallie in all the Courts, viz. in that of Star-chamber, which was

at first erected to restrain the insolence of Great men, in great outrages, but now for every petty offence, the meanest Tennant may be bold to call thither his Lord. A thing also appearing in the sawcie approaches of the Puritans upon the Bishops &c; and plainly in the boldnesse of the house of Commons against the Kings patents, and edicts, which in all good times (out of their necessity) have been powerful. And especiallie this humour hath been comforted by the sturdie example of the Neighbour States of the Low-countries, as in their insolencies in the *East-Indies* &c. From this place an inticing voice hath sounded in our eares of libertie and freedom, though indeed a feigned voyce, and (but in sound) unsound. I say when the king my Father had well beheld these things, he could not foresee a remedie more proper, or easier, as being unserviceable and in his own gripe, then to enlarge the number of his Nobles, that these being dispersed into several Counties might as lambs of Soveraigntie, in protection of their own degrees, and at their own charge inure the people with respect, and obedience to greatnesse; and yet not to amate, and discourage them; he thought good to raise some neer, or of their own rank, whereby they might see themselves in possibility of the like honour, if either by virtue, wealth, or honestie they make themselves worthie. This I protest was a child of my Fathers best judgment in this poynt, and the Duke but the instrument thereof. And if you say, that there was many many times given for these Honours, nay if you say, that mony hath been given for places of Clergie, and Judicature; I pray take this of me, that this is so in all other Countries, as in *France*, and *Spain*. And those Councels seem a little to smile at our dulnesse, that we have so lately apprehended their soundnesse herein; for (say they) when men pay well for such places, it is the best kind of security for their honesties, especially when sayling in their dutie, they shall be sure to be as much punished as they were advanced. Howbeit I am not satisfied in this opinion. And if it be said that the King should have had the mony, which the Duke took to his own use; I believe this last is more, then any can prove, neither will I deliver what I know therein. Howsoever, it matters not much being no popular disbursment. Only this I will say, that I know the Dukes particular service, and affection to me, and that he, and his will lay down themselves, and all they have at my Feet. Neither is this bare opinion, since the Duke alone hath disbursed, and stands engaged more for my affaires, and the States, then any Number of Noblemen of *England* whatsoever, and therefore  
there

there is reason, that from a King he would receive his own and more.

And now (my Lords) since I have thus far opened a Kings Cabinet unto you at least by the measure of this foot of answer, you may discover, what may be said concerning that great bodie, and bulk of accusations of the Highest kind made against the Duke. I desire you would take it to heart, remembring, that it is your King, that speaketh this, who therefore expects your service, and love herein, and who will requite the same assuredly; hoping you will believe me indeed, and do accordingly indeed, and that you will also rest assured, that my spirit is not so young (though a young King) as that I would bring this testimony in mine own wrong, were not that I say, true in my own knowledge. And being so, you also will grant, that it is not for a King to use his Servant, and Instrument as he doth his Horses, which being by hard riding in his service foundred, and lamed, to turn them off to grasse, or to the Cart. I must therefore in right of the King my Fathers Honour and my own, protect a man (though I have said justly seeming guiltie, yet) in mine own knowledge innocent, and free as I have delivered it; will you then deny the King to favour whom he please, which the King hath never denied you, that are his subjects? will you controule me your Head and Governor in things wherein your selves have taken liberty uncontrouled? would you that I should require accompt of your liberalitie? nay of all your failings, which are liable to my authority? well commend me to my Lords, and tell them, that if any thing had been formerly done amisse by others, I have power, and will to redresse it, and to prevent the like. I speak it in the word of a King, neither Lords, nor Commons can desire of me any thing that is honest, which I am not ready to give them. Let not therefore the world by these mistakings make Table-talk any longer of your King and his negotiations? nay of his secrets and necessities; for alas what great wrong, or indignity can the Glorie of the State receive, then that the private grudges of subjects (accusing to the ignorant, when in their consciences they could excuse) should be the businesse of our Parliament, and that the King himself should be forced to appear as a partie? No doubt this is a Cocatrice egge, that craftie heads of our enemies seek to hatch, whilest the weightie affaires that in present concern the Honour, and welfare of the King and State, and the peace of all Christendome are by us utterly neglected.

I end, hoping your Lordship (now privy to these things) will be tender of your Sovereigns honour, and will so satisfie, and treat with the rest, that those particular janglings may be by some other course, and in some other place and time discussed and determined, that so our minds and time may be employed in the care of better things, which earnestly invoke our ayd at this instant.

Thus much spoken, or written, or the like, (for I seek but to awaken yore Lordships higher spirit and invention) I conceive it may get this effect: That these 6. Lords won by these reasons, and by other the Kings invitations, may deliver to the House, that for their parts, they have received unexpected satisfaction in those greatest points of the accusation against your Lordship, and of such secret nature as are not fit to be published without further deliberation. Wherefore since it pleased their Lordships, to have made choyce of them to be trusted in this imployment, they have faithfully served accordingly, and do upon their Honours freely, and without any ingagement or respect, protest the same. And therefore humbly desire their Lordships, that they would intreat his Majestie to be President in advice with their Lordships: What further were to be done in this private Contention betwixt your Lordship and the Lord Digbie; which obtained, something may then follow for your Lordships good, by yeelding up that Cause into the Kings hands. And his Majestie hath great reason to bend it that way, because it is conceived, that the Lords will be loath to admit the King to be supream Judge, and Accuser; which point will much touch his Majestie. And his Majestie were better give some ease to the Lord Digbie, then permit that dispute.

And now for my self, I beseech your Lordship to pardon my strange boldnesse; I know I am a mere stranger to you, and if ever you have heard of me, it must be as of a friend of such you then did not love. I know it shewes me a medler in businesse, or an insinuator, which are suspitions, that may distast you, and make you suspect my pretences, though they were not altogether witlesse. I know this disadvantage, and am in my own nature offended for putting my self thus into your notions. But yet I resolved to undergo all this. First, because you made my Brother a Captain in *Ireland*, who had otherwise perished. Next, for the favour you did to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and the retiring of disfavour from my Lord of *Somerset*. And lastly, for your firm hand, that advanced the now Lord Treasurer. To all which Lords I am familiarly known, and bound.

But



*Mr. Ch. Th. to the Duke of Buckingham.*

But (nearest to you) your Lordship may hear of me from the Lord Treasurer.

I am confident of your Lordships noble interpretation, since I seek no ends, no acquaintance, no other thanks, being one that have no Court-suits to your Lordship; but being one that loves not ruines, (which my friends have tasted) nor that the publique should wrestle with a private Inturn of Spleen. And I offer it but as a simplicity, yet with good will enough; for what can a man, that is not privy to the Elements of State, demonstrate any conclusion thereof; yet I hear sometimes how the world goes as other men do.

I conceive I have said something to your Lordship, and though perhaps short, yet enough to occasion, and stir up your deeper thoughts. I also may have deeper, but also I know, that little pinnes of wood do sustain the whole building. More I could have said touching the other points, but these greatest elided, the fall of the others may be easily directed. What I have said against those objections I touched, doth arise from grounds of truth, and they must win, and prevail, and my conceit is fitted to the Kings part, and to the occasions now on foot.

I humbly cease your Lordship further trouble, and wish you all good, desiring your Lordship also to pardon my tedious and hasty scribled hand.

Your Lordships unknown  
servant,

*Ch. Th.*

*Postscript.*

**Y**our Lordship shall be pleased to take off some part of my boldnesse, and impute it to the obligation and service I owe this worthy Lady, the Bearer.

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To *Comte Gondomar*.

*My Lord,*

I Thought my hands bound that I could no sooner have occasion to write unto you, being forced against my will to delay my writing from day to day in expectation of the news of your arrival at that Court, assuring my self, that I should then receive from you some ground whereupon to write. But after a long expence of time before that I could hear of your arrival, and in the Pacquet that his Majesties Embassadour sent thereafter, receiving no Letters nor word from you as I expected, I do now by these break my long silence unto you.

As for news from hence, I can in a word assure you, that they are in all points, as your heart could wish: for here is a King, a Prince, and a faithful friend and servant unto you, besides a number of your other good friends, that long so much for the happy accomplishment of this match, as every day seems a year unto us, and I can assure you in the word of your honest friend, that we have a Prince here, that is so sharp set upon the businesse, as it would much comfort you to see it, and her there to hear it. Here are all things prepared upon our parts; Priests and Recusants all at liberty: all the Roman Catholiques well satisfied, and which will seem a wonder unto you, our Prisons are emptied of Priests and Recusants, and filled with zealous Ministers for preaching against the Match; for no man can sooner now mutter a word in the Pulpit though indirectly against it, but he is presently caught, and set in straight prison. We have also published Orders both for the Universities, and the Pulpits, that no man hereafter shall meddle, but to preach Christ crucified; Nay it shall not be lawful hereafter for them to rail against the Pope, or the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* further then for edification of ours; and for proof hereof you shall herewith receive the orders set down, and published. But if we could hear as good news from you, we should think our selves happy men; but alas! Now that we have put the ball at your feet, although we have received a comfortable Dispatch from his Majesties Embassadour there; yet from all other parts in the world, the effects appear directly contrary. For Mr. *Gage* brings us news from *Rome*, that the dispensation there is at a stand, except a number of new Conditions be granted, which we never dreamed of, and some of them can tend to no other end, but to bring our Master in jealousy with the greatest part of his Subjects; nay which

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which is strangest of all, we find some points yeelded unto by us, (which would have given the Pope good satisfaction) to be concealed from him by the King your Masters ministers there. We were never more troubled to put a good face upon an ill Game, then we were upon *Gage's* arrival here, which in your phrase is to put a good sauce to an unfavoury dish.

For the whole world being in expectation of bringing the Dispensation with him, we are now forced to make him give it out here to all his friends, that 'tis past in *Rome*, and sent from thence to *Spain*. And from *Brussels* we find, that notwithstanding, both of the King your Masters promises, and undertaking of the Infanta there, who hath long ago acknowledged to have had power from the Emperour for granting of this long-talked of Cessation, yet now after innumerable delayes on her part, *Heidelbergh* is besieged by Count *Tilly*, and that at such a time, as his Majestie cannot imagine what ground or shadow of excuse can be found for his Commission. For the Treaty hath been twice reformed at her desire, and all the Auxiliaries such as *Branswick*, and *Mansfelt* have taken another course: His Majesties son in law staying privately in *Sedan*, ready to obey all his Majesties directions; and the places in the *Palatinate*, which are not already in his enemies hands, being onely possessed by his Majesties Souldiers. So as now if the War shall continue, it must be directly between the Emperour, and our Master, his Majestie having sent a Commandment to his Embassadour at *Brussels*, that if *Tilly* will needs go on with that siege, that he return hither with all speed. For his Majestie in honour cannot endure, that whilest he is treating for a cessation of Arms at *Bruxels*, the Wars should go on in the *Palatinate*, especially when they have no body to invade, but his Majesties own Subjects and servants; And indeed his Majestie thinks he is very ill dealt withal, for all that great sincerity and candour, wherewith he hath constantly carried himself from the very beginning of this businesse, that no lesse can satisfie the Emperours revenge then the utter extermination of his children both of honour and inheritance, and not without a direct breach of his former promise, avowedly set down in his last Letter to his Majestie.

And now let me I pray you in the name of your faithfull friend and Servant, beseech you to set apart all partialitie in this case, and that you would be pleased indifferently to consider of the streights we are driven into, if the Emperour shall in this fashion conquer the *Palatinate*, the antient inheritance of his Majesties children: what can be expected but a bloody and unreconcilable war between the

Emperour, .

Emperour, and my Master wherein the King of *Spain* can be an Aux-  
 iliarie to the Emperour against any other partie but his Majestie.  
 And therefore as my Master lately offered to the Infanta for satis-  
 faction of her desire, that in case the Auxiliaries would not be con-  
 tented with reason, but still perturb the treatie, he offered in that  
 case to assist the Emperour and her against them; so can he in ju-  
 stice expect no lesse of the King your Master, that if the Empe-  
 rour will contrarie to all promises both by his Letters, and Embassa-  
 dours, proceed in his conquest, and refuse the cessation, that the  
 King your Master will in that case, and in so just a quarrel assist him  
 against the Emperour, in imitation of the King my Masters just and  
 reall proceedings in the businesse from the beginning, who never  
 looked (as you can well be witnessse) to the rising, or falling hopes  
 of his son in Law his fortunes, but constantly keep on that course,  
 that was most agreeable to honour and justice, to the peace of Chri-  
 stendom; and for the fastning of a firm & indissoluble knot of amity,  
 and alliance betwixt the king your Master and him, which was be-  
 gun in the time of the treatie with *France*, and then broken at your  
 desire, that we might imbrace this alliance with you; you are the  
 person, that many times before your departure hence, besought his  
 Majestie once to suffer himself to be deceived by *Spain*. We there-  
 fore do now expect to find that great respect to honour in the King  
 your Master, that he will not take any advantage by the changing of  
 fortune, and successe of time, so to alter his actions, as may put his  
 Honour in the terms of interpretation. You see how all the rest  
 of Christendom, envie and maligne this match and wished conjun-  
 ction; How much greater need then hath it of a hastie and happie  
 dispatch? And what comfort can the Prince have in her, when her  
 friends shall have utterly ruined his Sister, and all her babes? you re-  
 member how your self praysed his Majesties wisdom in the election  
 of so fit a Minister, as Sir *Richard Weston* in this businesse, but you  
 saw what desperate Letters he writes from time to time of their cold  
 and unjust treating with him in this businesse; you could not but  
 wonder at any spark of Patience could be left us here; and to con-  
 clude this point in a word, we ever received comfortable words from  
*Spain*, but find such contrary effects from *Bruxeller*, together with  
 our intelligences from all other parts of the world, as all our hopes are  
 not only cold, but quite extinguished here. Thus far for the By, and  
 yet such a By, as may put by the main, if it be not well and speedily  
 prevented. As to the Main, which is the match, his Majestie, and  
 we all here, thought we had done our part, and put the ball at your  
 foot,



foot, when wee agreed upon the twentie, and five Atticles more: whereupon as your self often answered, and assured us the best Divines in *Spain* concluded that the Pope, not only might, but ought to grant a dispensation to this marriage, but now we are surcharged with a number of new Articles from *Rome*, and in the mean time the Dispensation is as far off as ever it was.

His Majestie hopes that you are nor ignorant, that the treatie is between him, and your Master; He hath no treatie with *Rome*, neither lyes it in his way to dispute with them upon this question; yet that his readinesse to imbrace your Masters friendship may the better appear, he is contented to yield to so many of their demands, as either his Conscience, Honour, or safetie can permit, if so the King your Master shall think it necessarie. But on the other part we three remember, that when as you first moved this match unto him, and perswaded him to break off with *France*, you then promised, that he should be pressed to nothing in this businesse, that should not be agreeable to his conscience, and honour, and stand with the love of his people. As to the particular Articles new added at *Rome*, I will not clogg this paper with them, which I fear without them, will be too troublesome unto you. For what his Majesties opinion is of them, his Majesties Embassadour there will particularly acquaint you.

But whereas the Pope desires in the end of his Articles, that he may see what *bonum publicum*, the King our Master will grant unto, that may perswade to grant this dispensation, I will remit it to your conscience and knowledge, whether if he favours his Majestie daily grants to those of his religion, and is resolved still to continue, if not to increase them, if they shall by their good behaviour deserve it, be not a real *bonum publicum*, considering that if the match should break off (which God forbid) his Majestie would be importunately urged by his people (to whose assistance he must have his recourse) to give life and execution to all the penal Lawes now hanging upon their heads.

It only rests now, that as we have put the ball to your foot, you take a good, and speedie resolution there to hasten a happy conclusion of this match. The Prince is now two and twenty years of age, and so a year more, then full ripe, for such a businesse: the King our Master longeth to see an issue proceed from his Loins; and I am sure you have reason to expect more friendship from the posterity that shall proceed from him, and that little Angel, your Infanta then from his Majesties Daughters Children. Your friends here, are all discomforted with this long delay: your enemies are exasperated, and

and irritated thereby; and your neighbours, that envie the felicity of both Kings, have the more leifure to invent new Plots for the Crosse, and hinderance of this happy businesse; And for the part of your true friend and servant *Buckingham*, I am become odious already, and counted a betrayer both of King and Countrey.

To conclude all with; I will use a similitude of hawking (which you will easily understand, being a great Faulkoner;) I told you already that the Prince is (God be thanked) extreemly sharp set upon this Match; and you know that a Hawke, when she is first dressed, and made ready to flie, having a great will upon her, if the Faulkoner do not follow it at that time, she is in danger to be dulled for ever after.

Take heed therefore, lest in the fault of your delayes there, Our Prince, and Faulcon gentle, (that you know was thought-flow enough, to begin to be eager after the Fœminine prey) become not so dull upon these delayes, as in short time hereafter, he will not stoop to the Lure, though it were thrown out to him:

And here I will end to you my sweet friend, as I do in my prayers to God, (*Onely in thee is my trust,*) and say as it is written on the outside of the Pacquets, Haste, Haste, Post-haste:

Conde de Gondomar to the Duke, 13. Fêbr.

1625.

*Most Excellent Sir,*

**A**T last Sir, the Earl of *Gondomar* goes for *England*; There will be many good discourses made in *Holland* about this voyage: But the truth is, that the intention of his journey is not to offend any one, but only to desire, and procure peace; and the publique good. And onely with this intent the King my Master Commands me to go thither, and I go with a great deal of joy as well for this as for to kisse his Majesties and his Highnesse his hands, and your Excellencies in particular.

And therefore I do appoint for the field of our Battail your Excellencies Gallerie over the *Thames*, where I hope your Excellencie shall see, that the Earl of *Gondomar* is an honest man, and that he hath been, is, and ever will be, a faithful and true servant and friend.

## Padre Maestre at Rome, &amp;c.

to Sir *George Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham*, whom God preserve many happy years.

The Countesse my Wife, and my self, kisse my Lady the Countesse, and my Lady Dutchesse their hands.

Your Excellencies

Constant and faithful  
servant,

*Gondomar.*

Padre Maestre at Rome to the Spanish Embassadour in  
England, 12. June, 1621.

*My Lord,*

I Have received two Letters from your Lordship, the one of the 15<sup>th</sup>. of *March* brought me by Mr. *George Gage*, and the other of the 30. of *April* which came by the Ordinarie. In both which Letters I have received a special favour from you, and much comfort. The coming of Mr. *Gage* hath given me infinite contentment, then which there could nothing have happened more fitly and to the purpose, for the matter which is in negotiation, nor any man have come hither that could better advance the businesse then he, as well in respect of his good affection, as for his wisdom and dexterity in all things. And if the King of Great *Brittain* will withal help now a little, the businesse will be quickly done, and in a good manner. I beseech your Lordship preach to him a Christian Sermon as is most needful: for there comes from thence divers wayes such reports thither, that I am ashamed, and out of countenance in the streets as I go, and they do me a favour, that they do not stone me, knowing that I am treating, and labouring this businesse at the same time, when the poor Catholiques are so cruelly used in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And when I excuse it, that it is not by the Kings order, but by the abuse and malice of some ill affected Ministers, it will not be received; neither do they want Replies. Besides, there is a rumour all over *Rome*, that the King in a Speech which he made at the beginning of the Parliament, affirmed publicly, *That for all this marriage with Spain,*

Spain, the Catholique party in England should not be in one jot better condition then they are.

But I cannot be yet discouraged; My confidence is in the King, and in the desire which I know he hath to procure a good Wife for his Son. And now that the time is come, let him play the part of a Couragious Wooer, and frustrate the intentions and desires of all those, that are adverse to it. It is a comfort unto me, that I do not find here an impossibility; but that though there be difficulties, yet I find many here that desire to overcome them. And above all, I hope that God will assist this businesse as his own Cause. I am going to prepare my self for the Congregation of the Cardinals, and a Consultation of Divines, to whom I understand we shall be remitted this next week. I shall give your Lordship an account punctually of all things that happen in those Conferences. Ours Lord, &c.

Your Lordships, &c.

Padre Maestro.

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Don Carlos to the Lord Conway,

3. September.

S I R,

I Have understood by Mr. *Srada* with particular contentment the newes of your good health, which God continue for many years. I see by yours received by *Srada*, what his Majestie hath been pleased to order concerning the ships of the *Indies*, which is as much in effect as could be hoped for from so great a King, so zealous of Justice and Equitie.

In the Conduct of this businesse, we will observe the order given by his Majestie, in confidence that the Subjects of the King my Master shall obtain their ends, and his Catholique Majestie receive the contentment to know, that the excesses of those that shall be convicted have been punished.

By the last Currier of *Flanders*, we received neither from the *Infanta*, nor any other person any other newes, then what Mr. *Trumbul* sent by his Letters.

I confesse freely, that the Marquesse, and my self have been much troubled, both of us being exceedingly desirous, that his Majestie should



should receive in every thing (even in words, and formalities) the same satisfaction, which we hope he shall receive in the effects. Nevertheless in discharge of her Highness, I will say that which is fit for me as I am her servant, and which I pray you from me to deliver unto his Majestie; but thus understood, that it is onely my own particular discourse.

By the displeasure his Majestie hath been pleased to testifie unto me upon many occasions of the Prince *Palatines* refusal to sign, and ratifie the Treatie of suspension of Armes; He may be also pleased to judge how it may have been taken by the King my Master in Spain, and the Infanta in *Flanders*, and the rather because of the continual reports, that at the same time went up and down and increased (as ordinarily it falls out) of the descent of *Alberstat* with a mighty Army of 20000 foot, and 6000 horse, not any more to make war in *Germany*, but to joyn with the Prince of *Orange*, and fall upon those Provinces in obedience to his Catholique Majestie, which was no other but directly to aym at the vital parts of the *Spanish* Monarchie.

If for these just fears (which cannot certainly be held vain, being considered with those of the year past, proceeding from one and the same Cause, both of which have been scattered by the Almighty hand of God, in his secret Judgments) it hath not onely been lawful, but also necessary to conserve the ancient alliances, and procure new, I leave it to the judgment of every man of understanding, not doubting but for this respect you will be of the same opinion with me: And much more his Majestie, whom God hath endowed with so great knowledge, and royal qualities, as are known to all the world.

Morover, let us see if in the Law of gratitude, the Infanta could do lesse then acknowledge towards the Duke of *Bavaria*, the valour wherewith his Army had resisted the pernicious designs of *Alberstat*. having hazarded his own estate to hinder the imminent danger of the King my Masters.

Again let us consider if the Infanta sending to visit; and give him thanks could excuse her self from giving him all those titles, which the Duke of *Bavaria* gives himself, and desires should be given him. And if he might not, if she had done otherwise have thought the ingratitude the greater, then the acknowledgement. And therefore things being in this state, the Infanta could not excuse her self from sending to visite him, seeing he had succoured her in a time of need, and in visiting him to give him that, which he desired should be given

given him. And the like is to be said for the King my Master in case he hath done the like as Mr. *Trumbal* writes the Infanta should tell him, and with a great deal more reason because the Countries are his own. And therefore since his Majestie of Great *Brittain* is so great a King, and hath so great a reputation of the exact performing of his royal obligations, I doubt not but he will judge, that in this formality, the King my Master, and the Infanta his Aunt, have but acquitted themselves of their obligations. For the rest, if at the conference of *Cullen*, which his said Majestie, and her Highnesse have desired, and do yet desire his Majestie of great *Brittain* shall see, that they are wanting on their part to proceed with that sincerity and truth, which they have so often offered, and which the Marquesse of *Tnoisa* doth still offer on the behalf of the King my Master, so that only the Prince *Palatine* make the submissions due to the Emperour as his natural Lord, and resolve to follow the Paternal counsels of his Majestie of great *Brittain*, his Majestie shall then have reason to complain. And in the mean time the Prince *Palatine* should do but well not to entertain those Amities he endeavours to conserve, nor to solicit those Leagues which he labours to procure, not only with the declared rebels of the King my Master, and of the House of *Austria*, but also with the enemies of all Christendom. I will ingage my head if following this way his Majestie and his son in law find themselves deceived.

You know Sir, that I treat in truth, and freedom, and do therefore hope you will impute my excuses to that, and will not call this libertie of my discourse, rashnesse, but an immortal desire in me in all things to procure the service of our Kings, laying aside all occasions of misunderstandings, now we treat of nothing els, but uniting our selves more by the strickt bonds of love, over and above those of our Alliance.

I do humbly beseech you to say thus much to his Majestie, and to assure him from me, that when he shall be pleased to employ me in this matter, as in all other, he shall ever find me faithful and real, as I have offered my self, and alwayes continue, being well assured, that even in that I shall serve my Master. And I pray you to believe in your particular that I am, and will be eternallie

Yours &c.

II

The

*The Marquesse Ynoiosa to the Lord Conway,*  
5. September, 1623.

**I** Answered not long since to both your Letters, and now I will add this, that only the sport, and pleasure that *Don Carlos*, and I consider his Majestie hath in his progresse, may make tollerable the deferring (by reason of that) and not bearing the newer we expect to hear of his Majesties good health. For by that meanes we might not onely satisfie more often our desires in this point (having his Majestie neerer) but also our desire to bring these businesse to an end, which are ordinarily more delayed, and lesse well executed, when they are to passe through the hands of Ministers (though they be very zealous, and well affected to it) as these Lords are with whom we treat here; who are desirous that the King should be known for just, though unnecessarily, when nothing is pretended contrarie to that which is agreed upon. This knowledge whereupon I ground my reasons may perhaps make me (*Sin Embargo*) incur the Censure of an impatient man; But I am perswaded, that if that which hath been done here, had been settled there by your Honour, and the Lord *Cann* of *Carleil* (whose good disposition, and proceeding is as much to be esteemed as it is praysed by *Don Carlos* and my self) we would have made an end, and those things, which I have seen, and observed here had not happened unto us. For in the conference, in which my Lord Keeper did assist, it was agreed (as we thought) that his Majestie should give order to the Judges and Justices of Peace, Arch-bishops and Bishops signed with his royal hand under the little Seale within three months, or at the Princesses her arrival. He hath persisted afterwards, as also Sir *George Calvert* in that (though it was plain) that his Majestie would give the said warrant, afterwards, there being no term nor day appointed. Nevertheless at last we have condescended, that it should be within six months, or at her Highnesse arrival, if she comes afore that time, that we may shew how happie we think our selves in being Servants to his Majestie, whom God save.

The dispatches that we are to have are contained in the relation here enclosed. I pray you to take order, that those that are to be sent back to that effect, may be subscribed, and Sealed; for I have deferred the dispatching of a Currier (with an evident danger that he will now arrive too late, and put in hazard a businesse of mine of consideration,

deration, which obligeth me to dispatch him) that he may not go without them; And that it may not be an occasion to doubt of the assurance we have given of his Majesties good will and intention; whose Royal hands, I, and *Don Carlos* do intreat your Honour to kisse in our name, and to continue us in his Majesties good Favour, and your Honour likewise in yours; for we deserve it with a particular affection, and equal desire to serve you. God save your Honour, as I desire

Your Honours servant,

The Marquesse, *Tuoissa.*

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*Sir Arthur Chichester to the Duke, the*

25. January, 1623.

*May it please your Grace,*

**W**Hen you went last from *White-Hall* I waited on the Prince and you into the Gallery, where your Lordship spake something unto me which I understood not, to wit, *Are you turned too?* As I knew not the ground of the Demand, I could make no present answer; nor now but by Conjecture. When I turn from the Prince, (whom I know to be the worthiest of Princes) or from you, (who by your favours have so bound me to serve you) or from the truth (as I conceive it) God I know will turn from me; until then I humbly pray your Lordship to believe that I am your honest servant.

The Sunday after your Lordships departure, the Embassadors of the King of *Spain* came unto me under the pretext of a visit. I have herewith sent your Grace a brief of what passed between us. I judge some man hath done me an ill office, by insinuating me into their good opinions of me; sure I am, I never spake of them, nor of the affaires they have to manage, but what I have said, when the selected Council were assembled. I cannot be so dull, but to know that they meant your Grace to be the Interposer of their desires, and the Man, whom they wished to be absent when they have their private audience. They are exceeding Cautelous, and I conceive the late Dispatch from *Spain* is like a gilded bayt to allure and deceive;



*Passages and Discourses between the Ambassadors*

your Lordship perceiving their Malice, will be warie to avoid their Venom. I am

Your Graces

Humble, and faithful  
Servant,

*Arthur Chichester.*

*The Collections of the Passages and Discourses between the  
Ambassadors of the King of Spain, and Sir Arthur  
Chichester, 18. January, 1623.*

*These Passages were sent to the Duke, inclosed in the last foregoing Letter.*

ON Sunday the 18. of this present *January*, the two Embassadors of *Spain* came to visit me at my House in *Drury-Lane*. At their first entrance they took occasion to speak of the profession of *Souldiers*, and of the *Spanish Nation*, affirming them to be the bravest Friends, and the bravest Enemies. I approved it in the *Souldier*, and contradicted it not in the *Nation*.

When they were come into an Inner Room, looking upon the Company as if they desired to be private; I caused them to withdraw, but noting that they had brought an Interpreter with them, I prayed Sir *James Blount*, and *Nathaniel Tomkins* Clark of the Princes Council, ( who doth well understand the *Spanish* tongue ) to abide with me.

Being private, they said they came to visit me, because of the good intention, and well-wishing they understood I had to the accommodation of businesses, and because I stood named by his Majesty for the employment into *Germanie*.

I acknowledged their coming to visit me as a particular Favour, professing my self to be one of those, who was able to do least, but that I must and would in all things conform my self to the will, and good pleasure of the King my Master.

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They were pleased to remember, and to take for argument of his Majesties good opinion of me, to make me one of the *Junta* (as they called it) of the selected Councillours, and his imployment given me the last year as his Extraordinary Embassadour into Germany.

I told them I had been bred a Souldier, as their Excellencies had been, but that I wanted the capacity and abilities which they had, and that for want of Language (not affecting to speak by an Interpreter) I had forbore to wait on their Excellencies, as otherwise I would have done.

To that they returned the like Complement, and then said, Their Master had sent a good answer touching the *Palatinus*, and they assured me, that he would perform what he had promised with advantage.

I said if it were so, I then hoped all things would sort to a good end.

They then asked me how his Majestie, and the Lords were affected, and whether therewith they were satisfied, or no?

I answered; That I conceived their Excellencies knew his Majesties mind as well as the Lords, for that they had so lately audience of him.

They said: It was true, they had so, but not a private audience; nor could they obtain any, though they had much desired the same, but that others were still present.

I said merely that they were two; and I believed that the King their Master had sent as able and experienced Ministers as he had any, and therefore his Majestie might peradventure think fit not to hear them alone.

They said his Majestie might alone hear a thousand Ministers of any Kings, but if he should be otherwise pleased, they well liked of the Princes being present; but they said there were also other great Ministers of the Kings, who wished not well to their Masters affairs.

I said; There might therein be a mistaking, or misunderstanding on their part; for if the King their Master mean so really as they said, I conceived that no body would be willing to remove his Majestie from his side. When the Princes in Spain, they had free access to his Majestie, whenever they desired it.

those purposes, and that good affection which he bore unto his dear Brother the King of Spain.

The Marquesse said in English, The King was a good King, and the Prince a good Prince, but some of their Ministers they doubted were ill willers to them.

I asked if greater demonstrations of reality could be devised, then had been given on the part of the King and Prince, instancing in the Prince his going in Person into Spain.

They confessed it, but as the times now were, they said ill offices were done them.

I assured them, That I neither knew, nor understood of any; neither did I ever hear them spoken of, but with due respect had unto them, as to the Ministers of a great King, and his Majesties dear Brother.

They said their meaning was not, that the ill offices were done to their Persons, but to the great Busineses, which a certain Person had shewed a willingnesse to disturb; but they hoped, that the intended amity between our Masters would hold, and proceed neverthelesse.

I professed, that I knew nothing to the contrary, neither understood I the particular at which they aimed.

The Marquesse swore as he was a Christian, he knew that the King his Master did so truly, and really esteem his dear Brother the King of England, and the Prince of Wales, that if they needed part of his blood, they should have it for their good: But he complained, that they could not have their Messages delivered nor returned from the King of late, but qualified according to the pleasures of others.

I said, They misconceived it, for I thought they had no cause to complain, seeing they now had, or might have (as I supposed) the Kings Ear when they craved it in due, and besitting times.

They seemed to deny it, alledging, That they could not get their Messages and Papers answered as aforesaid.

I said, When the Prince was in Spain, they had free access to his Majestie, whansoever they desired it.

Yea

Yea said the Marquesse in *Latine Time*; but now, he said, the case was altered.

I said the King had given many testimonies to the world of his willingnesse to comply with their Master, and Them: And if either his Majestie or the Prince seemed now more reserved, and deliberate in their actions then heretofore, it might be that his Highnesse had learned that wary and circumspect proceeding in *Spain*, where they are said to use it in matters of far lesse moment.

They smiled hereat, and prayed me to continue my good intentions, and respects towards them, and to the joynt affairs of both our Masters.

I said, I would alwaies serve the King my Master, with a true and faithful heart, and so far as should be agreeable to his desires, and good liking, I would to my small power be ready to serve them.

In Conclusion they said, They came but to visit me, but being come, they could not choose but say something, and touch upon businessse.

*Arthur Chichester.*

22. of May, 1624.

Having made visits at sundry times to the Spanish Ambassadors, I do here under my hand declare, what passed betwixt them and me, so neer as my memory serves; lest in my absence any such matter should fall in question, I now intending to travel for a space.

**W**Hen his Highnesse was in *Spain*, being upon my journey in *Scotland*, I went to *Ellis-House* to take my leave of *Don Carlos*, where *Varuail* was present, I expressing much joy of the match, which in my mind would without all question be perfected, did find no such humour, nor inclination on their part, which did much astonish me; for they grumblingly did alleadge, that the King my Master did perform nothing that he promised; or how could anything be expected the Infanta being here, whereas nothing was performed the



the Prince being in Spain? I besought them to do better offices, then without reason to put jealousies betwixt my Master, and theirs, who would never have sent his son to Spain without a real intention. Which onely act was reason sufficient to remove all doubts.

Yet did they still continue their challenge of divers Bracks, specially, anent the sending of ships to Scotland to bring away the two *Dunkirkers*, and not perfecting such conditions as were promised to Catholics. I did intreat them again, that such conceits of my Master might be removed, for they might be confident of full performance of what he had promised, by reason he had never broke his promise to any. I desired them likewise to consider with what love our Prince was gone, and what a stain it should be to the State of Spain, if uncourteously he should return with distast; Besides, it might fall out to be the worst act that ever they committed, where anent if they had love to their Master they would prove good Instruments. What was spoke by me in English was related in Spanish to *Don Carlo*, so was it to me what they spoke in Spanish. Sometimes *Don Carlo* spoke in French, so that not a word passed which each man did not know.

I went again after the Treaties were given up, and did remember *Don Carlo* of what I had forespoke, when the Marquesse was present and took the speech; they did demand of me whether I was come of my self, or by Commission, for they professed to account me their friend.

I answered that I came meely of my self, and was sorrie that by their own deserving, they had procured such alterations, and I thought strange of such demands as they had made at *Hampton Court*, which did both expresse much spleen, and lack of good intelligence. They did avow their demands were reasonable; but, from that time they would make visits to the Duke and love him better then before, because they were in doubt before, but now they know him to be an Enemy. I did answer, that I was sorrie for their proceeding, and was their friend so long as they were friends to my Master.

After a few haughty words, such (as it was a wrong waie to deal with their Master by threatnings, who gave pay daily to 300000. Soldiers that they had followed the wars a long time, and had seen men killed by the Cannon, Musket, Pike, and sword, but never saw men killed with words, they desired me to speak to his Majestie, that they might either be dismissed, or have freedome to go about their business with security. They did desire me likewise to speak to his Majestie, that the treatie for the *Palatinus* might continue.

I did demand of them how these two things did agree, both to threaten and intreat? whereupon they passed upon me with odd complaints. I went once more of late to give them a farwel. I said, they proved themselves good Servants to their Master in pressing to raise jealousies in this State, but they were now too well known to do harm. The Marquesse swore, that by this time the Infanta had been here, & the *Palatinate* restored, if the blame had not been on our Part. I did intreat I might be excused not to believe that. I did ask whether they did not condemn their own judgments in accusing the Duke of *Buckingham* of that whereof he was cleared, both by the King, and State. Their answer was, He was cleared by those who were his confederates, all as guiltie as himself.

I demanded, why they should still expresse their malice against the Duke of *Buckingham*. Did they not think but our Prince was a man sensible of what injuries he had received? their answer was, if the Duke were out of the way, the Prince would be well disposed. They said farther, his Highnesse was an obedient son before the Duke guided him, but since, he was not. So that when we speak of his Majestie, they speak with much respect, but for the Prince did not use them kindly, they did make the lesse accompt of him. So after I took my leave and parted.

*Nithisdail.*

**M**uch I have omitted for brevitie, wherein they did expresse much respect to his Majestie, much of their threatning to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

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*The Lord Nithisdail to the Duke, 22 June,*

1624.

*My most Noble Lord,*

**F**inding matters at great uncertainty when I came hither, I resolved to make farther tryal before I should part from hence. What thanks is due to the Embassadors for their painefull, and discreet Carriage can hardly be expressed.

Matters now being drawn to such a conformity (which I confesse I thought impossibilities, though withall I found much respect al-

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ways to the Prince with a sensible desire of the Match expressed, both by the King, and those I spake withal) our Embassadors seem still to be discontent, that all things are not remitted to our Masters verbal promise, which though it may be assurance sufficient to all Catholiques, who have the sence to consider, that it must be our Masters, and the Princes gracious disposition must be our safety, more then either word or writ: yet the writ being desired privately (as they pretend) merely to draw the Popes consent (without the which nothing is to be finished) the difference is not so great, their Princely promise being given already.

What cause of jealousie the refusing hereof should procure, you may consider: besides, my judgment failes me, if a more easie way shall be assented unto upon this side. If the Embassadors have bestirred themselves to get this out of the publique Articles, I can bear witness. Thus much I dare avow, that neither time nor place have been omitted by them to do good; though I must confesse, what intelligence I had in the proceeding, hath rather been from the *French* then from them. Their Reasons (as I conceive) was their doubts, that did bring me hither, having neither Letters from the King, the Prince, nor your Grace.

Whereupon to remove these conceits, I shewed them, that I did onely take this in my way, intending to go see the Jubilees, where-with though his Majestie, nor the Prince, neither yet your Grace were acquainted with at my parting, you will be pleased to make my excuse. I am infinitely beholding to the Embassadors noble Courtessie, which I know hath proceeded from that relation which they know I have to you.

My Lord, let the happinesse which shall come to the Prince by matching with such a Lady, as I protest before God, hath those perfections, to my thinking, can hardly be equalled, be a means to hasten a happy Conclusion; And let not matter of Ceremonie draw delays where the substance is agreed upon. So shall all that belong to our Master be made happy, in general, and you in particular, for that love which they expresse here to your self.

Once more I humbly begg, you will consider particularly upon each one of the Articles, and I hope you shall not find such unconceivable difference as an affected Puritan may pretend. Whereupon if I have looked more with eyes of a Papist then was fitting, it is my lack of judgment, and not of zeal to my Masters Honour, which of all earthly things shall be preferred. Beseeching God to give a happy

*Sir Tobie Mathew to the King of Spain.*

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py successe hereunto, with a sound recovery of your own health, I humbly take my leave.

Your Graces

Faithful servant,

Dated at Compion.

*Nithisdail.*

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*Sir Tobie Mathew to the King of Spain.*

**D**On *Tobia Mathei Cavallero Ingles y Catholico Romano* beseecheth your Catholique Majestie with all humility and reverence, to give him leave to speak these few words unto you.

He understandeth that the *Theologos* have persisted precisely upon the *Voto*, which they gave before, and he findeth clearly that the Prince conceiveth, that he can by no means submit himself thereunto with his Honour. And besides, my Lord the King hath expressly required him to return with all possible speed, in case that *Voto* should not be qualified. And it is certain that he will depart for *England* within very few daies: And whosoever shall inform your Majestie, that the Treatie of this marriage may be really kept on foot after the departure of the Prince upon these terms, doth deceive your Majestie through the ignorance wherein he is of the State of *England*. So that the Prince departing thus, the Catholique Subjects of all my Lord the Kings Dominions are to be in lamentable case. For although the Prince did yesterday vouchsafe to have Compassion of me in respect of the grief wherein he saw I had upon these occasions, and to say, That although the marriage were broken, yet he would procure that his Catholique Subjects should not fare the worse for that; yet I know that it is morally impossible for that honourable design of his to take place in respect of the People, and the importunitie and malice of the Puritans, and especially because it will now be a case of meer necessitie for my Lord the King, to run in a course of very straight Conjunction with them of his Parliament, that he may be able the better to serve himself of them in other occasions: from which Parliament, as now the case will stand, what Catholique can expect any other then the extremitie of rigour?

In consideration whereof I cast my self with a sad heart at the feet of your Majestie, beseeching you, that you will take into your royal

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remembrance the love, which you owe, and procure to paie to our holy Mother, the Church, and that some course may be taken, and with speed (for otherwise it will be too late to give the Prince some foot of ground upon which he may be able to stand in such sort, as that without losse of honour, and breach of that word, which he hath given to the world, and without prejudice to that obedience, which he oweth to the least commandement of the King his Father; his Highnesse may be inabled to comply with the incomparable affection which he beareth the Infanta your Majesties Sister. And that by meanes hereof the two Crowns may be kindly in perfect union, and the Catholique religion may be highly advantaged, not only in the Dominions of my Lord the King, but in many other parts of Christendom, into which the Authority of these Dominions doth flow.

For my part, I take the eternall God to witnesse, whom I procure to serve, and who hath given me a heart, which disclaimeth from all other interestes then to serve God, and my King, that I conceive my self not to comply with a good conscience without laying this protestation under the Eye of your Majestie, that if the Catholique subjects of the King my Lord shall grow liable to persecution, or affliction by occasion of breaking this Match, through the disgust of the King my Lord and his Councel, or through the power, which infallibly the Puritans assembled in Parliament will have with him upon this occasion, that blood, or miserie whatsoever, it may partly be required at their hands who have advised your Majestie not to accept of those large conditions for Catholiques which my Lord the King and the Prince have condescended to, and of that more then moral Securitie which they have offered for the performance thereof.

And on the other side, I undertake to your Majestie, under the pain of infamie, in case that be not made good which here I affirm, that if your Majestie will be pleased to give some such ground to the Prince, as whereupon he may with Honour stay, and perfect the Treatie of the Marriage by any such way, or means, as may occur to your Majesties royal wisdom, the whole bodies of the Catholiques in England both religious, and secular, shall acknowledge it as a great blessing of God, and shall oblige themselves to pray incessantly for your happie Estate &c.

Sir Tobie Mathew to the Dutchesse of Buckingham,

9. June 1625.

Madam,

There was no cause till now, why I should trouble your Ladyship with presenting my unprofitable service to you: but now I shall venture to do it, by reason of the good newes I shall send with it.

For our Queen arrived here yesterday, and I was glad at the heart to see her such, as she had seemed; she is more grown, then I had thought, being higher by half the head then my Ladie Marquesse. And whatsoever they say, believe me, she sits already upon the very skirts of womanhood. Madam, upon my faith she is a most sweet lovely Creature, and hath a countenance which opens a window into her heart; where a man may see all Noblenesse and Goodnesse; and I dare venture my head (upon the little skill I have in Physiognomie) that she will be extraordinarily beloved by our Nation, and deserve to be so; and that the actions of her self, which are to be her own, will be excellent. Me thought I discerned in her countenance a little remnant of sadnesse, which the fresh wound of parting from the Queen Mother might have made, yet perhaps I was deceived. Her Aattire was very plain, for so Great a Queen can be thought to have nothing mean about her. But I hope that amongst many other blessings, which God, will have provided for us by her means, her example will be able to teach our Countrie wit in this kind.

I had the happinesse to see, and hear her at a short distance, by the Commandement which my Lady of *Buckingham* laid upon me to interpret for her, and believe me, she is full of wit, and hath a lovely manner in expressing it. But I confesse I was sorrie with all my heart, to hear that her courage was so great, as to carry her instantly (after my Ladie of *Buckingham* had taken her leave for that time) to Sea in a poore little boate in the company of her brother, whom yet, I have not had the honour to see. I dare give my word for her, that she is not afraid of her own shadow, who could find in her heart to put her self at the first sight, upon an element of that danger, and diseafe for meer pastime; Unlesse it were perhaps that she might carrie some Steel about her, and that there is some

Adamant

*Sir Tobie Mathew to the Dutchesse of Buckingham.*

Adamant at *Dover*, which already might begin to draw her that way.

I am extremely sorry, that we have lost the hope of seeing the two other Queens, for if they had come, we might have had beautie here as well in the preterperfect, and in the present tense, as now we have in the future.

But the Queen Mothers indisposition hath arrested her at *Amiens* in punishment of that malice, wherewith she dissembled it too long at the first, through the extream desire she had of coming hither.

Our Queen received my Lady of *Buckingham* with strange courtesie and favour, and now there is no remedy but that the King will needs defray and treat her after a high manner. And I have been told that *Monsieur* will needs descend so much as to visit her in her lodging; and the Dutchesse of *Chevreux* (being that great Princessse, as she is, both by match, and bloud) will perforce give precedence not onely to my Ladie of *Buckingham*, but to my Ladies her daughters also: And I assure my self, that a lesse puissant example then this will serve to convert our Great Ladies, even to exceed in *England* towards the Ladies which are strangers, and do but come, and go.

But the while this Court doth so apply it self to do my Lady of *Buckingham* all imaginable honour, I look on it so, as that I am no way discouraged thereby from bearing devotion to the blessed Virgin, when I see that men, who are sick of love towards the Son, are put even by a kind of Law of nature into pain, till they revenge themselves upon the Mother. I beseech Jesus, &c.

**From Bulloign. &**

Dr. Sharp to King James.

*The Complaint of Europe our Mother, aged, and  
oppressed,*

**T**O whom? To the Kings and Princes of Europe. Of whom?  
Of the Pope of Rome. For what matter? For causing by his  
Catholique League so much blood to be spilt within these few yeares  
in Europe. To this effect, as that excellent Poet speaks, with a lit-  
tle change of his words,

*Quis non Europæ sanguine pinguior.*

*Campus sepulchris impia prælia*

*Testatur? auditumq; Turcis*

*Europæ sonitum ruina?*

*Qui gurges aut qua flumina lugubris*

*Ignara belli? quo Adare Civica*

*Non decoloravere cades?*

*Quæ Caret ora cruce nostro?*

And what further danger is it like to breed? Even to bring the  
Turk into Austria, Italy, Germany, into Vienna, and into Rome it self,  
as it hath brought him into Pannonia, and of late into Poland to the  
great danger of all Christendome. Which danger she doth foresee,  
and lament, and telleth, That no European King hath sought to com-  
pound these bloody home-quarrels but the King of Great Britain.  
She most humbly desires the rest of the Princes, that they would  
Commiserate her most afflicted estate; her Cities taken, her houses  
spoiled, her children murdered, her Matrons and Virgins defouled,  
her waies full of Thieves, her Seas of Pyrates, all the helps of life  
taken from her in many parts, her flocks and herds scattered, her  
Tillage ceased, her Trade decayed, the Lawes silent, Learning fal-  
len, good manners ruined, neither fear of God left, nor care of men,  
that all things seem to tend to the first Chaos, &c. And therefore  
she doth beseech the Princes to whose trust God hath committed, not  
to whose power he hath permitted his two Wards, two Twins, the  
Common Wealth, and the Church as to Guardians, that they will  
look better to their charge.

And first, not suffer the Common Wealth of Christendom by  
their armes (at the Popes secret instigation) to be destroyed, and to  
this



this end she first useth the example of good Heathen Emperours to perswade them as *Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Alexander Severus, Probus*; that they will settle peace at home, and by joynt Forces make War abroad upon the Common enemy of their Kingdomes, and so make the Common-Wealth to Honour them, being made by them, rich in wealth, strong in power, famous in glory, honest in manners, the felicity of every earthly Common-Wealth.

Now for the other Ward, or Twin, the Church, the Heavenly Common-Wealth, because she hath before professed, that as she had been long a Pagan, so now by the Grace of God, hath long been a Christian, and did take this to be her greatest honour, to be the harbour of the Christian Church, she stirres them up to be more careful by the example of the best Christian Emperours, *Constantine, Jovian, Gratian, Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, Charlemain, and his Sons Lotharius, and Lodovicus*, to defend her from heresies within, and from violence without.

And now she begins to tell them, That as one walking with others in the Sun; not thinking on it, must needs be Sun-burned; so she walking with her reformed children in this new-risen Sun of the Gospel of Christ, did feel her self coloured (as it were) with the Spirit of Christ, by observing the differences between the two Churches with great indifferencie.

Here because she hath before challenged the Pope and the Jesuites of cruelty, and perswading first, that as men they should spare humane blood.

Secondly, as *Europeans* they should spare *European* blood.

Thirdly, as Christians they should spare Christian blood.

She is first thus answered by the Pope speaking for himself, and his Jesuites, That they are not the authors of shedding Christian blood, but heretical blood: And that her reformed sonnes (as she terms them) are not Christians, because they be no Catholiques; And therefore Hereticks to be taken away by death, according to the sentence of St. Paul, *Hereticum hominem post unam aut alteram admonitionem devota; Hoc est de vita tolle*, as Cardinal Allen doth expound it, and according to the Decree of the Council of *Lateran*.

And where I pray you was this your Reformed Church before *Luther*? And as for my Jesuites you call them bloody, even as you call your Physitians bloodie, who for driving away a Pestilential Feaver, do take more corrupt and putrified blood from the party then they would.

And

And thereupon, he doth twitt *Europe* as an old doting *Sibylla*, in her youth, being the Concubine of one *Tanru*, whom she feigned to be *Jupiter*, to cover her fault, with the greatnesse of her lover, who did also give her the name of this divided World, that by the honour of her title, she might excuse the shame of her fact; And bytes the fond Oratour, that put this person upon her, a whelp of *Luthers*, that makes this Minion to accuse him before the Princes of Homicide, or an insensible piece of Earth to plead his Cause.

To which *Europe* answereth,  
First, for her self;  
Then for the Church.

This Summe I thought good to present to your Majestie, if it please your judgment, I shall bring the whole work to your Majestie when I am recovered.

And thus craving pardon of your Majestie for troubling your greater thoughts, though this tend to the good of Christendome which you intend, I rest.

Your Majesties

Most humble Chaplain,

*Leonel Sharp.*

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Dr. Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham.

*May it please your Grace,*

IT is not my purpose to advise, but to attend what others shall determine of the Match of the *Palatinate*; but if that be broken off, and this not restored according to promise, every one may conceive that Peace must give place to War abroad; but with whom, and where, and how it is to be made, it is for an higher Councel, then for any private man to resolve.

Peace were best, if it had *Nihil insidiarum*, as *Tully* saith; but it is to be feared that the malice of the *Catholique League* doth, and will hinder the work of the Kings most Noble and Christian heart, and then it will be a War wrapt in the name of Peace.

A just War is the exercise of Faith, as *Peter Martyr* well collects

out of those Wars which those Worthie Kings and Princes *Heb. 11.* fought for their God and his *Israel*: so war is just which is made for the maintenance of Gods true religion, and for the safety of the Common Wealth, either for the keeping of that we have, or recovering of that we have lost.

Every one therefore doth rejoyce to see the King and his Subjects so joynd in love together, and in the purpose of this defence, every one I mean that is a true Christian, and good subject; and do with that two things presently were added, care at home to Coupe up all false-hearted Subjects, that are known, and provision to meet with the secret, and open practises of such forraign Enemies, as are like to abet them

The good policies of the former reign in such times is the best president for this, at this time. The heads were then committed *liberali Custodia*, divided from their inferiour parts, the Papists disarmed, their clawes pared, that they might not hurt us, the lawes executed upon the Jesuites and Priests, fire-brands of sedition, and rebellion withal: Or if not blood drawn of them, yet close imprisonment, or banishment enjoyned them..

Large subsidies granted to prepare the Navie, and pay the armies. And a great while no war proclaimed, but brave Adventurers sent forth as to *Portugal*, the *Groine*, to the *West-Indies*, &c: And before Letters of reprisal granted to the Marchants to make up their losses, a *Rowland*, for an *Oliver*, because they had granted Letters of Mart against us. By this meanes Carricks were brought in, the treasure of their *West-Indian* mines laid for at their return, so to make war upon them with their own mony, till they had made the enemy bankerout, and to break with their banquers of *Ausburg*, and *Genna*, that he was not able to pay his Souldiers, and garrisons; and still the Low-countries strongly assisted, and war made upon the enemy there, or at home, at his own doores, which was more Noble, gainful and safe for us; for we still had peace and plenty at home, though war abroad.

I know not how the case stands now between us, and the *Spaniards*, but me thinks it should not be very well, when nothing will satisfie him, but the head of him, that spake the truth for the good of the King and kingdom. Certainly if we break with him, as they which sit at the Helm know what is best to do, he is readie to strike, and will peradventure strike quickly before we be fully prepared, therefore our preparations had need to be more speedie, & thorough, lest we fall into the snare. While they were treating of peace in 88. they

they did even then invade us. I pray God they have not used this treatie of marriage to as bad a purpose; for it seemes they never did intend it, but for delayes, and to make it serve their turn, they have plainly abused us in the *Palatinate* therereby. But I can say nothing for the present, yet what is to be done, it is proper to an higher judgment; onely I tell what was then, when we were enemies.

I remember in 88. waiting upon the Earl of *Leicester* at *Tilbury Camp*, and in 89. going into *Portugal* with my Noble Master the Earl of *Essex*, I learned somewhat fit to be imparted to your Grace.

The Queen lying in the Campe one night, guarded with her armie, the old Lord Treasurer *Burleigh* came thither, and delivered to the Earl the examination of *Don Pedro*, who was taken, and brought in by Sir *Francis Drake*, which examination the Earl of *Leicester* delivered unto me to publish to the armie in my next sermon. The sum of it was this.

*Don Pedro* being asked what was the intent of their coming, stout-ly answered the Lords, What? But to subdue your Nation, and root it out. *Don Pedro's confession.*

Good, said the Lords, and what meant you then to do with the Catholiques? He answered, We meant to send them (good men) directly unto Heaven, as all you that are Heretiques to hell. Yea but said the Lords, what meant you to do with your whips of cord, and wyer? (whereof they had great store in their ships) What? said he, We meant to whip you Heretiques to death, that have assisted my Masters Rebels, and done such dishonours to our Catholique King, and people? Yea, but what would you have done (said they) with their young Children? They (said he) which were above seven yeares old, should have gone the way their fathers went, the rest should have lived, branded in the forehead with the Letter *L.* for *Lutheran*, to perpetual bondage.

This I take God to witnesse I received of those great Lords upon examination taken by the Councel, and by commandement delivered it to the armie.

The Queen the next morning rode through all the Squadrons of her armie, as Armed *Pallas* attended by Noble Footmen, *Leicester*, *Essex*, and *Norris* then Lord Marshal, and divers other great Lords. Where she made an excellent Oration to her armie, which the next day after her departure, I was commanded to redeliver to all the Armie together, to keep a Publique Fast.



*Her words were these.*

**M**Y loving people, we have been perswaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit our self to armed multitudes for fear of treachery : but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful, and loving people. Let Tyrants fear, I have alwayes so behaved my self, that under God I have placed my chiefest strength, and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subiects. And therefore I am come amongst you as you see, at this time, not for my recreation, and disport, but being resolved in the midst, and heat of the battaile to live, or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my Honour, and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of *England* too, and think foul scorn that *Parma* or *Spain*, or any Prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my Realm, to which rather then any dishonour shall grow by me, I my self will take up arms, I my self will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of everie one of your virtues in the field. I know alreadie for your forwardnesse, you have deserved rewards and crownes, and we do assure you in the word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my Lievetenant General shall be in my stead, then whom never Prince commanded a more Noble or worthie subject, not doubting but by your obedience to my General, by your Concord in the Camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victorie over those enemies of my God, of my Kingdomes, and of my People.

This I thought would delight your Grace, and no man hath it but my self, and such as I have given it to, and therefore I made bold to send it unto you, if you have it not already.

I would I could perswade your Grace, either to read your self, or to command your Secretarie to gather out of the Historie of *Spain* translated into English towards the end five or six leaves, which hath matter of great importance fit for the Parliament, especiallie for two points; the one concerning the settled intention of the State of *Spain* against *England*, whensoever they can get an opportunity; the other concerning the main reasons of state, which moved the Queen, and Council, then to take upon her the protection of the Low-countries.

*They*

They were of two sorts, the first inherent in the Person of the Prince then being, which died with her, (as some think) the Quarrel being then between the Queen, and King of *Spain*, *Phillip* the second, which are said to be buried in their graves; the other inherent in their estates, which live with them, and remain in the heart of the State of *Spain* against us, whosoever is their King.

And this appeareth by a large Disputation of State had before the King of *Spain*, and blab'd out by their Chronicler in many words, wherein *pro et contra* two do argue. The one, who proves that the *Netherlands* their Rebels are first to be conquered, that it may serve them as a rise to the Conquest of *England*, and the reasons for that project. The other, who proves, that the *English* are first to be conquered, the supporters of those their Rebels, and for a rise to the Empire of Christendome, and the reasons for the project, and specially for that it is more easie now for the disuse of armes in *England*; for that *England* is not now that *England* which it hath been, &c.

And the mean, how they may win themselves into us by a Treatie of Marriage, as *Mariana* blabs it out in general, that which the Prince hath tryed, and your Grace hath uttered in Parliament in special, that *Colloquia de Contractibus*, are with them *Mora ludibria parata tantum Regum animis, Ne noceant distinendis, dum ea qua ipsi intendunt, perficiantur*. Which *Guicciardine* also doth in general affirm, That the *Spaniards* bring more things to passe by Treaties, and subtilties, then by force of Armes.

And that you may truly understand the full intention of the *Spaniard* to the state of this Kingdom, and Church, I would your Grace would read a notable Discourse of the late most Noble Earl of *Essex*, made by the Commandment of Queen *Elizabeth*, and debated before her Majestie, and her Councel concerning this point, Whether Peace or War was to be treated with *Spain*? The Lord *Buckhurst* speaking for a Treatie of Peace, to the which the Noble Queen, and her old Lord Treasurer inclined: The Earl speaking for War, because no safe peace could be made with that State for 3. special Reasons, which are in that Treatise set down at large, which is not fit for me yet to deliver by writing, but there you shall find them. Your Grace may have the book of divers Noblemen your friends: If you have it not (if I may understand your pleasure) I will get it for you. It was of that effect, that it brought the Queen, and Treasurer contrary to their purpose to his side, for the very necessity of the common safety.

Your

*The Lord Cromwell to the Duke.*

Your Lordship having angered them, and endeared your self to us, you had need to look to your self; you are as odious to them as ever the Earl of *Essex* was.

The Jesuite *Walpool* set on one of the stable (*Squire*) one well affected to my Lord, to poyson the rests of his Chair. And seeing they strike at the Ministers, which deal effectually for his Church, (witness worthy Doctor *White*) what will they do to such Pillars of State as you are? The Lord preserve your Grace, and watch over you. And thus I rest

Your Grace his most humble  
at Commandment,

*Leonel Sharp.*

*The Lord Cromwell to the Duke, 8. Septemb.*

1625.

*May it please your Grace,*

I Am now returned from mine own home, and am here at *Fulham* neer Mr. *Burlemachi*, making my self ready to attend your Command in the best manner my poor fortunes will give me leave, and with what speed I may. Some things I have sent to *Plymouth*, and some Gentlemen, so as when I come there, I hope to find that your Lordship hath appointed me a good sailing ship, and one, that shall be able to play her part with the best and proudest enemy, that dare look danger in the face.

Though your Grace hath placed a Noble Gentleman in the Regiment was intended to my Lord of *Essex*, yet I will not despair of your favour, or that you will not give me some taste of it, as well as to any other. I will study to be a deserving Creature, and whether you will please to look on me with an affectionate eye or no, I will love, honour, and serve you, with no lesse truth, and faith, then those you have most obliged. What concerns me, I will not here speak of for fear I offend. My prayers shall ever attend you, and my curses those, that wish you worse then their own soules. Divers I do meet, that say your Grace hath parted with your place of the Mastership of the Horse, which makes the world suspect, that some disfavour your  
Lordship

Lordship is growing into: And that this prime feather of yours being lost, or parted with (be it as it will) it will not be long ere the rest follow.

They offer to lay wagers, the Fleet goes not this year, and that of necessitie shortly a Parliament must be, which when it comes, sure it will much discontent you. It is wondered at, that since the King did give such great gifts to the Dutchesse of *Chevreux*, and those, that then went, how now a small summe in the Parliament should be called for at such an unseasonable time: And let the Parliament sit when it will, begin they will, where they ended, They say the best Lords of the Councel knew nothing of Count *Mansfelds* journey, or this Fleet, which discontents even the best sort, if not all; They say it is a very great burthen, your Grace takes upon you, since none knowes any thing but you. It is conceived, that not letting others bears part of the burthen you now bear, it may ruine you; (which heaven forbid) Much discourse there is of your Lordship here, and there, as I passed home, and back, and nothing is more wondered at, then that one Grave man is not known to have your Ear except my good, and Noble Lord *Conway*. All men say, if you go not with the Fleet you will suffer in it, because if it prosper, it will be thought no act of yours; and if it succeed ill, they say it might have been better, had not you guided the King. They say your undertakings in the Kingdom, and your Engagements for the Kingdome, will much prejudice your Grace.

And if God blesse you not with goodnesse as to accept kindly, what in dutie and love, I here offer; questionlesse my freedom in letting you know the discourse of the world, may much prejudice me. But if I must lose your favour, I had rather lose it for striving to do you good in letting you know the talk of the wicked world, then for any thing else, so much I heartily desire your prosperitie, and to see you trample the ignorant multitude under foot.

All I have said is the discourse of the world, and when I am able to judge of your actions, I will freely tell your Lordship my mind. Which when it shall not be alwaies really inclined to serve you, may all noble thoughts forsake me. Because I seldom am honoured with your Ear, I thus make bold with your all-discerning eye, which I pray God may be inabled with power and strength, daily to see into them that desire your ruine. Which if it once be, I will never believe, but so good a King will constantly inable you daily with power to confound them.

Many men would not be thus bold and saucie. If I find you distaste  
me



*Sir Robert Philips to the Duke of Buckingham.*

me for my respect to you. I will respect my poor self (who ever hath honoured you) so much as hereafter to be silent. So I kisse the noble hands of your Grace.

Your Lordships servant,  
during life,

*Tho. Cromwell.*

*Sir Robert Philips to the Duke of Buckingham,*  
21. August, 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

**B**Efore the receipt of that Dispatch, with which you were pleased to honour me from *Apthorp*, dated the last of *July*, I was fully determined at your return to *Woodstock*, to have presented your Grace my most humble and faithful service, and by that means to have obtained the knowledge in what state and condition of health you had passed this part of the progresse. Your former weaknesse, together with the dangerous temper of the season, giving me cause both to doubt, and pray against the worst; But I found my self then to be more strictly obliged to the performance of this dutie, when I received from your Grace so clear, and abundant a testimonie, as well of your good opinion, as of the trust you reposed in me. Obligations certainly of that nature, and of so large an extent as do with reason deprive me of all degree of libertie, and justly subject me to a perpetual state of servitude, and obedience to all your Graces Commandements.

I have diligently perused my Lord of *Bristols* answer, which it pleased your Grace to communicate unto me. And although it become me not, neither will I presume to give my opinion of the strength, or weaknesse thereof, yet will I take the liberty to say thus much, That I find in his case that to be verified which I have observed at other times, (to wit) That when able and prudent men come to act their own Parts, they are then for the most part not of the clearest sight, and do commonly commit such errors, as are both discernable and avoidable, even by men of mean abilities.

Being now fallen to speak of this Lord, I humbly beseech your Lordship to give me leave plainly and briefly to set before you some Cogitations of mine own, touching his present occasion.

First,

First, that it may be maturely considered, Whether the tendering him any further charge, unto which he may be able to frame a probable satisfactorie answer, will not rather serve to declare his innocencie, then to prepare his Condemnation, and so instead of pressing him, reflect back with disadvantage upon the proceeding against him.

Secondly, That your Grace would be pleased to consult with your self, whether you may not desist from having him further questioned, without either blemish to your Honour, or manifest prejudice to the service: Considering that you have (to your perpetual glory) already dissolved and broken the Spanish partie, and rendered them without either the means, or the hope of ever conjoyning in such sort together again, as may probably give the least disturbance or impediment to your Graces waies and designs.

And lastly, Although his Lordship in sundry places of his answer, especially in the latter part, doth seem directly to violate the rule of the \* prudent Marriner, who in foul weather, and in a storm, is accustomed (to prevent shipwrack) rather to pull down, then to set up \* Provide dent, his failles. Nevertheless as this case stands, it deserves to be thoroughly pondered, which of the two waies will most conduce to your Graces purpose, and is likely to receive the best interpretation and success, either to have him dealt with after a quick and round manner, or otherwise to proceed slowly and moderately with him, permitting him for a time to remain where he is, as a man laid aside, and in the way to be forgotten. A state of being (if I mistake not his complexion) which will be by him apprehended equivalent to the severest and sharpest censure, that possibly can be inflicted on him.

Thus have I over-boldly adventured to present unto your Grace, these few Queries and Proposals, which they might be both enlarged, and more forcibly urged; yet to avoid the being too tedious, I have chosen to omit the further insisting upon them, till such time, as I may have the honour and felicitie of being neer your person. At this present it shall suffice, humbly to beseech your Grace, to be assuredly perswaded, that what I have now delivered in this subject, doth not proceed from any over-indulgent respect I bear either to the person, or fortune of my Lord of *Bristol*; though I should not be sorry, that like a prudent man he might by his discreet application to your Grace, render himself capable to be again readmitted to your love and favour. But the motive which hath induced me principally to use this plainnesse and libertie, is the Consideration, how importantly (as I conceive) the well ordering and disposing this particular, doth

*The Earl of Middlesex to the Duke.*

concern your Graces service. Unto the advancement and furtherance whereof, if I may be able now, or at any time to contribute the least proportion, I shall esteem my self most happie, and more then abundantly rewarded, in case that my right humble endeavours in that kind may receive from your Grace a favourable and acceptable construction.

I will conclude this Letter with a twofold prayer; first to you for my self, that your Grace will be pleased to pardon this boldnesse. Next to God for you, that he will give you health, and length of daies for his Majesties service, and the good and honour of this Common-wealth. I humbly crave leave to remain

Your Graces

Most obedient and devoted servant,

*Rob. Philips.*

*The Earl of Middlesex to the Duke.*

*Right Noble, and my most honoured Lord,*

**I** Have received divers Letters from your Lordship since your going from *Theobalds*, which though they concern several men, and in sundry kinds, yet they all conclude upon diminution of his Majesties estate, contrary to your general ground, when his Majestie delivered me the Staffe, and contrary to your Lordships private directions given me at *Theobalds*, with which I did your Lordship the right to acquaint the King.

I have of late had cause to take into consideration the miserable condition of my present estate, who since I received the staffe, have led such a life, as my very enemies pity me, which I foresaw, the distraction of the Kings estate, and burthen of that place, would of necessitie throw upon me. Yet my dutie, love and thankfulnessse to his Majestie, and my love and thankfulnessse to you, contrary to my own judgment, and advice of my friends, made me undertake it, little expecting these Crosse accidents, which have lyen heavy upon me, and more troubled me, then the continual cares and vexations of my place.

I do most freely and willingly acknowledge one man cannot be more bound unto another, then I am to your Lordship; and if I do not make a thankful return, let me be held an ungrateful Monster, which is the worst of Villains.

I have been so ambitious as to desire to extend my gratitude so far, as that the King may have cause to thank you for preferring me, and that your Lordship may blesse the time you did it. To effect that, I shall delight to live a miserable life for a time. The course which must of necessitie be held to do it, I will acquaint your Lordship with very shortly, which I hope you will be pleased to approve, and assist me in. And then I will expresse my thankfulness to you that way. If that course shall not like you, I will not onely deliver you up my places, but whatsoever I hold from the King, and live privately upon mine own estate. For I will never sell so good and gracious a Master, nor so noble and constant a friend ruined, and undone. God blesse you, and send you your hearts desire. As for my self, I never desired to quit the World, and all the fooleries in it, till now.

Your Lordships

Faithfullest servant, and

Kinsman,

*Middlesex.*

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*The Earl of Middlesex to his Majestie.*

26. April, 1624.

*Sacred Majestie, and my most gracious Master,*

YOur goodnesse is such to me your oppressed servant in this my time of persecution, as I know not how to expresse my thankfulness otherwise then by pouring forth my humble and heartie prayers to the great God of heaven and earth, to grant your Majestie all happinesse here, and everlasting happinesse hereafter.

Between 5. and 6. of the clock upon Saturday in the evening, I received my Charge from the Lords assembled in Parliament, with an Order, by which I am commanded to make my appearance at the Bar upon Thursday next by 9. of the clock in the morning

M m 2

with



with my answers. And in the mean time to examine my witnesses.

This Charge of mine hath been in preparing, by examining of witnesses upon oath, and otherwise, 23. daies. And hath been weighed by the Wisdom of both Houses, and doth concern me so neerly in point of honour, and faith to your Majestie to answer well, as I value my life as nothing in comparison of it.

I may grieve, though I will not complain of any thing my Lords shall be pleased to Command; but do hope, that upon a second consideration they will not think three daies a fitting time for me to make my Answer, and to examine witnesses in a cause of such importance, and so neerly concerning me, when twenty three daies hath been spent almost from morning until night in preparing my Charge.

I know the House (whose Judgment I shall never desire to wave) is the proper place for me to move to be resolved herein, and therefore shall upon Wednesday morning make my humble motion there to have 7. daies longer time, as well to make my answer, and appearance, as to examine my witnesses, which are many, and upon several heads.

But because the Prince his Highnesse, and many of the Principal Lords are now with your Majestie at *Windsor*, my most humble suit to your Majestie is, That you would be pleased to move them on my behalf, to yield me so much further time, that my Cause may not suffer prejudice for want of time to make my just defence, that which I have propounded being as moderate as is possible.

With my most humble and heartie prayer to Almighty God for continuance of your health with all happinesse, I humbly kisse your Royal hands, and will ever rest

Your Majesties most  
 humble, &c.

*Middelfx.*

1623.

*May it please your most Excellent Majestie,*

**T**Hough my present indisposition deprives me of the Honour to attend your Majestie with the rest of the Commissioners, with whom your Majesty was pleased to associate me; yet I most humbly beseech your Majestie to give me leave in all humility to represent unto your Majestie, what my heart conceiveth to be most for your Majesties service in the present conjuncture of your affaires. During this time of my distemper, I have been visited by divers Gentlemen of quality, who are Parliament-men, none of those popular, and plausible Oratours, but solid, and judicious good patriots, who fear God, and honour the King. Out of their discourses I collect, That there are three things, which do chiefly trouble your people.

The first, that for the subsidies granted, the two last Parliaments, they have received no retribution by any bills of Grace.

The second, that some of their Burgesses were proceeded against after the Parliament were dissolved.

And the third, that they misdoubt, that when they shall have satisfied your Majesties demands and desires, you will neverthelesse proceed to the conclusion of the Spanish match. It would be too much importunity to trouble your Majestie with the several answers which I made to their objections, and would be too great presumption in mee to advise your Majesties incomparable wisdom what should be fittest to be done for your Majesties honour, and the contentment of the people; yet if it would please my Lord the King to give his humblest Creature leave to give vent to the loyal fervour of his heart, restless, and indefatigable in continual meditation of his Gracious Masters honour and service, I would thus with all humble submission explain my self. That there is nothing which either the enemies of this State, or the perverse industry of false-hearted servants could invent more mischievous, then the misunderstandings which have grown between your Majestie, and your people: nothing that will more dishearten the envious Maligners of your Majesties felicity, and encourage your true hearted friends, and Servants, then the removing of those false feares, and jealousies, which are meer imaginarie Phantasmes, and bodies of ayr easily dissipated, whensoever it shall please the sun of your Majestie, to shew it self clearly in its native brightnesse, lustre, and goodnesse.

God

*The Earl of Carlile to his Majestie.*

God and the World do know the scope, and the end of all your Majesties pious affections, and endeavours to have been no other, then the settling of an universal peace in Christendom; (a felicity only proper for your Majesties time, and only possible to be procured by your incomparable goodnesse, and wisdom) but since the malice of the Divil, and deceitful men, have crossed those fair wayes wherein your Majestie was proceeding, abusing your trust, and goodnesse, (as Innocencie, and goodnesse are alwayes more easily betrayed then wiliness, and malice) you must now cast about again, and sail by another point of the compasse, and I am confident your Majestie will more securely, and easily attain, your Noble and pious end, though the way be different.

The meanes are briefly these three.

First let your Majesties enemies see, that the Lion hath teeth, and claws.

2. Next, imbrace and invite a strict, and sincere friendship, and association with those whom neighbourhood and alliance, and common interest of state and religion have joyned unto you.

3. And last of all, cast off, and remove jealousies, which are between your Majestie and your people.

Your Majestie must begin with the last, for upon that foundation, you may afterwards set what frame of building you please. And when should you begin (Sir) but at this overture of your Parliament by a gracious, clear, and confident discovery of your intentions to your People. Fear them not (Sir) never was there a better King, that had better subjects, if your Majestie would trust them. Let them but see, that you love them, and constantly rely upon their humble advice, and readie assistance, and your Majestie will see, how they will tear open their breasts, to give you their hearts, and having them, your Majestie is sure of their hands, and purses. Cast but away some crums of your Crown amongst them, and your Majestie will see those crums will make a miracle, they will satisfie many thousands. Give them assurance that your heart was alwayes at home, though your eyes were abroad; invite them to looke forward, and not backward, and constantly maintain, that with confidence you undertake, and your majestie will find admirable effects of this harmonious concord. Your Majestie as the head directing, and your people as the hands and feet, obeying and co-operating for the honour, safety, and welfare of the bodie of the State. This will revive, and reunite your friends abroad, and dismay, and disappoint the hopes of your enemies, secure your Majesties person, assure your estate, and make your memorie glorious to posterity.

Pardon

Pardon I most humbly beseech your Majestie, this licentious freedom, which the zeal of your safetie and service, hath extorted from a tongue-eyed man, who putteth his heart into his Majesties hand, and humbly prostrateth himself at your Royal feet, as being

Your Majesties

Most humble, most obedient  
obliged Creature, Subject,  
and Servant,

*Carlile.*

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*The Earl of Carlile to the Duke, the 20. of  
November, 1625.*

*My most Noble dear Lord,*

Since my Last to your Lordship by Mr. *Endimion Porter*, there hath Snot happened any matter of great moment, or alteration here, saving the resolution (which his Majestie hath taken by the advice of his Councel) for the disarming of all the Popish Lords. In the execution whereof there fell out a brabble at the Lord *Vaux* his house in, *North-hamptonshire*, wherein there were some blowes exchanged between the said Lord, and Mr. *Knightly*, a Justice of the Peace, who assisted the Deputie Lievtenant in that action. Whereof complaint being made, his Majestie was pleased himself in Councel to have the hearing of the businesse, and upon examination to refer the judgement thereof to the Star-Chamber the next Term. But at the issuing out of the Councel Chamber, the Lord *Vaux* taking occasion to speak to Sir *William Spencer*, (who with the rest had given information in favour of Mr. *Knightly*,) told him, that though he neglected his reputation before the Lords, yet he doubted not, but he would have more care of his oath when the businesse should come to Examination in the Star-Chamber. Herewith Sir *William Spencer* finding his reputation challenged, presently complained, and thereupon the words being acknowledged, the Lord *Vaux* was committed prisoner to the Fleet.

In the disarming of the Lords-Recusants, there was as much respect had of some, who have relation to your Lordship, as you your self would desire.

The



*The Earl of Carlile to the Duke.*

The Papists in general here do give some cause of jealousie by their Combinations and Murmurings, wherein it is suspected, that they are as fondly, as busily encouraged by the pragmatial *Monarchs*. But his Majesties temper and wisdom will be sufficient to prevent all inconveniencie, which their follie or passion may contrive. There is one Sir *Thomas Gerrard* a Recusant brought up hither out of *Lancashire*, being accused of some treacherous design against his Majesties Person. *Rochel* is so straightly blocked by Sea and Land, as no Intelligence can be sent into the Town. We have not as yet any cleat Categorical answers touching the restitution of our ships. As soon as any thing more worthy of your Lordships knowledge shall occur, you shall not fail to be advertised from him that is eternally vowed

Your Graces

Most faithfull friend, and most  
humble servant,

*Carlile.*

*The Earl of Carlile to the Duke.*

*My most Noble dear Lord,*

I Must ever acknowledge my self infinitely obliged to your Lordship for many Noble favours; but for none more, then the freedome, and true cordial friendship expressed in your last Letter touching my son; And I shall humbly beseech your Lordship in all occasions to continue that free and friendly manner of proceeding, which I shall ever justly esteem as the most real testimonie of your favour towards me. Your Lordship will now be pleased to give me leave with the same freedom and sinceritie to give your Lordship an account, that it is now 4. moneths since the Count of *Mansfelt* made the proposition to me, to nominate my son to be one of his Colonels, as he did likewise to my Lord of *Holland* for his Brother Sir *Charles Rich*; which at the first (I must deal plainly with your Lordship) I took for a piece of art, as if he knowing, that next to the benefit and assistance he received from your Lordships favour and protection, we were the most active instruments employed in his businesse, and therefore he sought

sought to ingage us so much the farther by this interest. But afterwards I found, that under the shadow of this Complement put upon me, he had a desire to gratifie Sir *James Ramsey*, whom he designed to be my sons Lievtenant, having regard to his former deserts, and the courage and sufficiencie he hath found in him. I professe unto your Lordship sincerely, that he received no other encouragement, or acceptance from me then a bare negative; Insomuch as he afterwards sent a Gentleman to tell me, That he perceived whatsoever he should expect from me in the furtherance of his businesse, must be onely for the respect I bare to my Masters service, and nothing for love of his person, since I accepted not the proffer of his service. My Lord of *Holland* can justifie the truth of this assertion, who alone was acquainted with that which passed: for I protest upon my salvation, that I neither spake of it to any creature living, not so much as to my son, neither have I written one word thereof to the Count *Mansfeld*, neither knew I any thing of his proceedings, till by the last Currier Mr. Secretarie was pleased to acquaint me with the nomination of my son. If I had seriously intended any such thing, I want not so much judgment and discretion, as not first to discover my desire to my gracious Master, humbly craving his leave, and allowance: And I should not have failed to have recourse to your Lordships favourable assistance therein. And thus (my Noble Lord) have I given you an account what entertainment I gave to the Count *Mansfelds* Complement. And I will be bold also to give your Lordship this further assurance, that no particular interest, or consideration of mine own shall have power to alter my constant course of serving my gracious Master faithfully, and industriously. And so humbly submitting all to his Majesties good pleasure, and your Lordships wisdom, I remain eternally

Your Graces most faithful friend,  
and humble servant,

*Carlile.*

*Postscript.*

I Most humbly beseech your Lordship that this unfortunate Complement put upon my son, may be no prejudice to the deserts of Sir *James Ramsey*.

*The Lord Kensington to the Duke.*

*My Noblest Lord,*

I find the Queen Mother hath the onely power of governing in this State, and I am glad to find it so, since she promises, and professes, to use it to do careful, and good offices in the way of increasing the friendship that is between us, and this State, and likewise to relieve, and assist the united provinces, the which they are preparing to do fullie, and bravely; for she hath now a clear sight of the pretensions of the King of Spain unto the Monarchie of Christendom; during the absence of the King, who went out of this town earlie the next day after I arrived here (before I was prepared to attend him) I have been often at the *Louvre*, where I had the honour to entertain the Queen Mother. She was willing to know upon what terms stood our Spanish alliance; I told her that their delays had been tedious, that they had somewhat discouraged the King, and had so wearied the Prince, and State, which the dilatorie proceedings in it, as that Treatie (I thought) would soon have an end; She streight said of marriage, taking it that way; I told her I believed the contrary, and I did so the rather, because the Spanish Embassadour hath given it out since my coming, that the Alliance is fully concluded, and that my journey had no other end, then to hasten his Master unto it, only to give them Jealousies of me, because he at this time feares their dispositions stand too well prepared to desire, and affect a conjunction with us. And truly his report, and instruments have given some jealousies to the persons of power in this State, especially since they find I can say nothing directly unto them; yet thus much I have directly from them, *Monsieur de Freville*, and others, (but he is the chief guider of all affaires here) That never was the affection of any State so prepared to accept all offers of amitie and alliance, so we will cleerly; and as disingaged persons seek it, as is this; but as a wise minister he saies, that until we have whollie, and truly abandoned the treatie with Spain, they may lose the friendship of a brother in law, that is already so, in hope of gaining another that they may fail of. But when we shall see it reallie by a publique Commission, that may declare all dissolved, that touches upon the way of Spain, we shall then understand their hearts not to be capable of more joy, then that will bring them. And the Queen Mother told me she had not lost those inclinations, that she hath heretofore expressed to desire her Daughter may be given to the Prince, with many words of value unto the King, and person of the Prince, and  
more

more then this she could not (she thought) well say, it being most natural, for the woman to be demanded and sought. It is most certain, that under-hand *Spain* hath done all that is possible to procure this State to listen to a cross marriage, but here they are now so well understood, as this bait will not be swallowed by them. This I have from a grave, and honest man, that would not be brought to justifie it, therefore he must not hear of it. It is the *Savoy* Embassadour, that is resident here, a wise, and a Gallant Gentleman, who voves this to be most true. So general a desire was never expressed, as is here for alliance with us: and if the King and Prince have as many reasons of State at this time, besides their infinite affection here, to have it so continued, let it be roundly, and clearly pursued, and then I dare promise as respective, and satisfactorie a reception, as can be imagined, or desired. And if it were not too much saucinesse for me to advise, I could wish that the propositions of a league, and marriage may not come together, but may be treated apart. For I doubt whether it may not be thought a little dishonourable for this King to give his sister conditionallie, that if he will make war upon the King of *Spain* his brother, we will make the alliance with him; on the other part, if the league should be propounded here, with all those reasons of State, that are now pressing for them to make it, they have causes to doubt, and so have we too; that we may both be interrupted in that; for certainly the King of *Spain*, will (if he can possibly) please one side, the which they think here may be us, with the restitution of the *Palatinate*, and we may likewise fear may be them, with the rendring of the *Valoigne*, these being the only open quarrels we must ground upon. Now as long as these doubts may possesse us both, this will prove a tedious, and jealous work of both sides; But if we fall speedily upon a treatie, and conclusion of a marriage, the which will find (I am perswaded) no long delays here: neither will they strain us to any unreasonable conditions for our Catholics (as far as I can find) then will it be a fit time for to conclude a league, the which they will then for certain do, when all doubts, and feares of fallings off, are by this conjunction taken away, and the necessity of their own affaires, and safety will then make them more desire it then we, and so would they now, if they could think it so sure, and so dishonourable for them. For the King of *Spain* hath so embraced them of all sides, as they fear, and justly, that he will one day crush them to their destruction. My Lord, I do not presume to say any thing immediately to the King, thorough your hands, and I know will passe unto him, and I should find any weakness in



*The Lord Kenfington to the Prince.*

this that I have presumed to say, let the strength of your favour exercise those accustomed Noblenesses that you have alwayes expressed unto

Your Graces most humble and  
obliged Servant,

*Kenfington.*

*Postscript.*

**W**ithin these few dayes your Grace shall hear again from me, for as yet I have not seen the King, no otherwise then the first night I arrived here. This night he is come unto the Town again.

*The Lord Kenfington to the Prince, 26. February,  
1624.*

*May it please your Highnesse,*

**I** Find here so infinite a value of your Person, and virtue, as what Instrument so ever (my self the very weakest) having some commands (as they imagine) from you, shall receive excesse of honours from them. They will not conceive me, scarce receive me, but as a publique Instrument for the service of an Alliance, that above all the things in this world, they do so earnestly desire. The Queen Mother hath expressed, as far as she thinks is fit for the honour of her Daughter, great favour and good will in it. I took the boldnesse to tell her (the which she took extreemly well) that if such a proposition should be made, your Highnesse could not believe, that she had lost her former inclinations, and desires in it; She said, your trust of her should find great respect; there is no preparation I find towards this businesse but by her, and all perswasions of amitie made light, that look not towards this end. And Sir, if your intentions proceed this way, as by many reasons of State, and wisdom there is cause now rather to presse it, then slacken it) you will find a Ladie of as much Lovelinessse and Sweetnesse to deserve your affection, as any creature under Heaven can do. And Sir, by all her fashions since my being here, and by what I hear from the Ladies, it is most visible to me, her infinite value, and respect unto you. Sir, I say not this to betray

tray your belief, but from a true observation, and knowledge of this to be so ; I tell you this, and must somewhat more, in way of admiration of the person of Madam, for the impressions I had of her were but ordinary, but the amazement extraordinary to find her, as I protest to God I did, the sweetest Creature in *France*. Her growth is very little, short of her age ; and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her discourse with her Mother, and the Ladies about her, with extraordinary discretion, and quickness. She dances (the which I am a witness of) as well as ever I saw any Creature ; They say she sings most sweetly, I am sure she looks so. Sir, you have thousands of servants here, that desire to be commanded by you, but most particularly the D. of *Chevreux*, and Mounseur *Le Grand*, who seek all opportunities to do you service, and have Credit and power to do so. Sir, if these that are strangers are thus ambitious of your Commands, with what infinite passion have I cause to beg them, that am your Vassal, and have no other glory but to serve you ; as your Highness, &c.

*Kensington.*

*Postscript.*

**S**ir, The obligations you have unto this young Queen are strange, for with that same affection, that the Queen your sister would do, she asks of you with all the expressions that are possible. of joy, for your safe return out of *Spain*, and told me, that she durst say, you were wearie with being there, and so should she : though she be a *Spaniard*, yet I find she gives over all thought of your Alliance with her sister. Sir, you have the fortune to have respects put upon you unlookt for ; for as in *Spain* the Queen there did you good offices : so I find will this sweet Queen do. Who said, She was sorry, when you saw them practise their Masques, that Madam her sister (whom she dearly loves) was seen at so much disadvantage by you, to be seen afar off, and in a dark room, whose person and face hath most loveliness to be considered neerly. She made me shew her your Picture, the which she let the Ladies see with infinite Commendations of your Person, saying, She hoped some good occasion might bring you hither, that they might see you like your self.

*The Lord Kensington to the Duke.**My Lord,*

Yesternight being Sunday, I arrived safe here at *Paris*. I was informed as soon as I came, that the King was resolved after sight of the Queens Masque (that was to be performed that same night,) that he would go a private journey for 5. or 6. daies to *Shantalis*, a house of Mounſieur de *Memorancies*.

Being desirous therefore to kisse his hands before his going, and to see the Court in that glory and lustre, as must for certain be found upon such an extraordinary occasion, I went to the *Louvre* to the D. of *Chevreux* Chamber, where I found him and his Ladie appareling themselves for the Masque, and in such infinite riches of Jewels, as I shall never be a beholder of the like worn by Subjects. I had not been there above an hour, but the Queen and Madam came thither, where they staid a great while. And it was observed, that Madam hath seldom put on a more cheerful then that night. There were some that told me, I might guesse at the cause of it. My Lord, I protest to God, she is a lovely, sweet, young Creature. Her growth is not great yet, but her shape is perfect, and they all swear, that her sister the Princeſſe of *Piemount* (who is now grown a tall and a goodly Ladie) was not taller then she is at her age. I thought the Queen would have put a fashion of reservation upon me, as not pleased with the breach, and disorder of the Spanish Treatie; but I found it far otherwise. She is so truly *French*, as (it is imagined) she rather wishes this alliance, then with her own sister. The King (that was so early to go out of the Town) took his rest, while the Ladies were making themselves ready; but as soon as he waked, He sent for me, and purposed to have received me as an Embassadour. But I intreated the D. of *Chevreux* before I went, to let him understand, that I came as an humble and thankful servant onely to kisse his Majesties hands, and had no other end then to do him service. He then received me with much freedom and cheerfulnesse, with many questions how the King is satisfied with his Present by Mounſieur de *Bouevan*, who when I related the Kings liking, and value of it, he was infinitely pleased. He commanded me to attend him to the Masque, which was danced by 16. of the greatest Princeſſes of *France*, *St. Luke* only being by the Queen received amongst them, to put a singular honour, and value upon her. The King with his Brother had danced a Masque the last Tuesday, with the same number of persons of the best quality; who this night were to cast Lots, who should dance with the sixteen Ladies,

Ladies, they onely being allowed to dance with them. And all those were so infinitely rich in Jewels, (embroiderie of gold and silver being here forbidden) as they had almost all imbrodered their cloathes as thick with Diamonds, as usually with purple.

I cannot give your Lordship any particular account of my service in any thing, yesternight being an unproper time for any such thing: But I am advised by the Prince *Jenivile* to stay here till the Kings return, and I shall understand how all things stand, and that no mans affection is so straight and true for the service of the King and Prince as his is, who of himself falls into passionate wishes for an Alliance, but tells me in much libertie, they have been informed the cause and plot of my journey was to set an edge upon Spain, rather to cut off their delaies, then to cut the throat of the businesse. But I gave him great satisfaction in that point.

My Lord, these are passages of my first nights being here, matters of ceremonie; and yet I omit much of that. I thought these too slight to trouble his Majestie, or the Prince with, yet I thought it fit since this Messenger goes, to let you see this outward show, and face of this Court, to have as much sweetnesse, smoothnesse, and cleannesse towards our designs as is possible. My next Letters shall inform you of a further search made by me, the which I am confident will be of the same nature. And I conceive it the rather, because I find them in a great alarm at the newes, that they have received from *Leige*, that the King of Spain makes a Fort upon the ruine there to command both that, and the Town. This they say hath made them more clearly see his vast ambition to enlarge his Monarchie, and do all speak the careful and honest language of our Lower house men how it may be prevented.

I have said enough, the Messenger I dare say thinks too much; yet this I will add, That I will study to make it appeare to the world, and your self, by a thankful heart, and to God himself in my prayers for your Lordship, that I am

Your Lordships

Most devoted, and most  
humble servant,

*Kensington.*

*Postscript.*



*The Lord Kensington to the Prince.**Postscript.*

**I**F the *French* Embassadour, or my Lord of *Carlisle* wonders I have not written unto them, I beseech your Lordship, let them know this Messenger is not of my sending, and in such haste as he cannot be stayed.

*The Lord Kensington to the Prince.**May it please your Highnesse,*

**I** Cannot but make you continual repetitions of the value you have here, to be (as justly we know you) the most Compleat young Prince and person in the world. This reputation hath begotten in the sweet Princessse Madam, so infinite an affection to your fame, as she could not contain her self from a passionate desiring to see your Picture, the shadow of that person so honoured, and knowing not by what means to compasse it, it being worn about my neck; for though others, as the Queen and Princesses would open it, and consider it, the which ever brought forth admiration from them, yet durst not this poor young Ladie look any otherwise on it then afar off, whose heart was nearer it then any of the others, that did most gaze upon it. But at the last (rather then want that sight the which she was so impatient of) she desired the Gentlewoman of the house where I am lodged, that had been her servant to borrow of me the picture in all the secrecie that may be, and to bring it unto her, saying, She could not want that Curiosity as well as others towards a person of his infinite reputation. As soon as she saw the party that brought it, she retired into her Cabinet, calling onely her in; where she opened the picture in such haste, as shewed a true picture of her passion, blushing in the instant at her own guiltinesse. She kept it an hour in her hands, and when she returned it, she gave with it many praises of your person. Sir, this is a businesse so fit for your secrecie, as I know it shall never go farther, then unto the King your Father, my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, and my Lord of *Carliles* knowledge. A tendernesse in this is honourable; for I would rather die a thousand times, then it should be published, since I am by this young Lady trusted, that is for beautie and goodnesse an Angel.

I have received from my Lord of *Buckingham* an advertisement,  
that

that your Highnesse opinion is to treat of the General league first, that will prepare the other.

Sir, whatsoever shall be propounded will have a noble acceptation; though this give me leave to tell you, when you are free, as by the next newes we shall know you to be, they will expect, that upon those declarations they have here already made towards that particularitie of the Alliance, that your Highnesse will go that readier and nearer way to unite and fasten by that knot the affection of these Kingdomes.

Sir, for the general they all here speak just that language that I should, and do unto them of the power and usurpation of the Spaniards, of the approaches they make to this Kingdom, the danger of the Low-Countries, the direct Conquest of Germany and the Valtoline. By which means we have cause to joyn in opposition of the Ambitions, and mightinesse of this King. The which they all here say cannot be so certainly done as by an Alliance with us. This they speak perpetuallie, and urge it unto my consideration.

Sir, unlesse we proceed very roundly, though they be never so well affected, we may have interruptions by the arts of Spain, that make offers infinite to the advantage of this State, at this time. But they hearken to none of them, untill they see our intentions towards them. The which if they find to be real indeed, they will give us brave satisfaction.

But Sir, your Fathers and your will, not my opinion must be followed; and what Commandments your Highnesse shall give me, shall be most strictly obeyed by the most devoted,

Your Highnesse

Most dutifull and humblest  
servant,

*Kenfington.*

*The Lord Kensington to the Duke, the 14. of  
March, 1624.*

*My Lord,*

**I** Have already acquainted your Grace how generally our desires are met with here, much more cannot be said then I have already for that purpose. There was never known in this Kingdome so intire an agreement for any thing, as for an Alliance with *England*, the Count of *Soysons* onely excepted, who hath had some pretensions unto Madam, but those are now much discouraged, upon a free discourse the Cardinal of *Rockfalcant* made unto the Countesse his Mother, telling her, That if she or her son believed, or could expect, the King would give him his sister in marriage, they would (as he conceived) deceive themselves: for he imagined upon good grounds, that the King would bestow his Sister that way, that might be most for her honour and advancement, and likewise for the advantage of his Crown and Kingdom; and he professed for his part, although he much honoured the Count as a great Prince of the blood, yet was he so faithful unto his Master, as he would advise him to that purpose.

The Queen Mother and Monsieur *Le Grand* have advised me to say something unto the King concerning my businesse. I told them, I could say nothing very directly unto him, and yet would I not so much as deliver my opinion of the King my Masters inclinations to wish an alliance with him, unlesse I were assured, his answers might make me see his value, and respect unto him. They then spake unto him, and assured me, I should in that be satisfied. Having that promise from them, I told the King, that I had made this journey of purpose to declare unto him my humble service and thankfulness for all his Honours and favours, the which I thought I could not better expresse, then by informing his Majestie, that our Prince whom he had ever so much valued, would be as I conceived free, and disingaged from our Spanish Treatie, by reason that the King could not find them answer his expectation in those things that made him principally desire their Conjunction; the which your Lordship seeing you have exercised your interest and credit with the King your Master, and the Prince to convert those thoughts towards his Majestie, from whom, you were perswaded nothing but truth and honour would be returned, the which at this time more then ever, would be an infinite advantage to both these Kingdoms, and that I believed if his Majestie

He would shew a disposition, as affectionate to receive Propositions to this purpose, as the King my Master had to make them, a long time would not passe before the effects of this might appear, the which would shew the report raised here of the ends of my coming to be false, and me to be free of all other designs, then those which I had expressed unto him. He told me, that he had not heard, that the Spanish Match was yet broken, the which justly might give him cause to be reserved; yet thus far he would assure me in the general, That whatsoever should be propounded unto him from the King of Great Britain, he would most heartily and affectionately receive it: but this was with such a fashion of Courtesie, as shewed that he desired cause to have said more, and I am fully satisfied not onely from him, but the Queens, and most of all of Madam her self, who shewes all the sweetnesse and contentment that may be, and likewise from all the Officers of the Crown, and State, that they can desire nothing equal with this alliance. A better and more large preparation then this my instructions cannot make, and I wonder to see it thus fair, considering the hinderances and defacings the Spanish Embassadour desires to cast upon it, who besides the *Rodomontado's* and threatenings of the preparations of his Master, doth here take a contrary, but cunning way, letting them know, that the Prince cannot have two Wives, for their Infanta is surely his, onely to create a jealousy and shienesse in them towards me, that he suspects labours to do offices that are not to his liking.

You will therefore I hope speedily put this State out of these doubts, and clearly and freely proceed with them. Upon my credit and reputation, they are all of that disposition, that we can wish them to be, and it appears by their tender care of the States, and their resolution to ayd them: And likewise in sending Captain *Coburn*, that came from the Duke of *Brunswick* to demand a supplie of men, who is returned with answer unto him, that he shall have double what he required, and great satisfaction to the Count *Mansfelt*, that sent a Gentleman hither, to let the King know, he was not yet in such disorder, but that he could assemble his Troops to such a number, as might do his Majestie good service, if he would be pleased to take him into his protection and favour.

And the King hath sent a Gentleman of the Religion a *Solanois* to *Leige*, to give information to this State of the proceedings of the *Spaniards* there, and to be ready to receive (if the Town shall seek it) the protection of them. But these passages I am sure you continually understand from our Embassadour, the which makes me omit

many



*The Lord Kensington to the Secretary.*

many particularities in this kind that I could inform you of. I have sent this Bearer of purpose, the which I beseech your Grace return with some speed, and with him the resolutions of our dear and Sacred Master, whom God ever bleſſe and keep to our glorie and comfort.

My Lord I am

The humbleſt and moſt obliged of all your Graces ſervants,

*Kensington.*

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*The Lord Kensington to the Secretary the Lord Conway.*

*Right Honourable,*

According to his Maſtieſties order which your laſt of April the 14. derived unto me, I have repreſented ſuch reaſons to the King, and his miniſters of State here, againſt the ſending of any perſon, in what quality ſoever, to the Duke of *Baviers*, as they acquieſce in them; ſpeciallie for that they come commanded under his Maſtieſties deſire, which they profeſſe to be very willing to comply with, not only in this, but in any other occaſion wherein his Maſtieſtie may directly, or indirectly be any way intereſſed.

I took the ſame opportunity of preparing the way a little farther to a formal treaty of alliance, by feeling once again their pulſe in matters of religion, and find, that it beats ſo temperately, as promiſes a very good Criſis of any thing that may concern that particular.

I dealt plainly with the Marqueſſe *de la Veiville* touching the courſe that his Maſtieſtie may be driven to hold againſt Jeſuites and Prieſts, of baniſhing them the Kingdom; and of quickning the lawes againſt the other Catholiques, as well out of neceſſity of reducing them within the bounds of ſobriety and obedience, as of keeping good intelligence with his Parliament, without which he could not poſſibly go thorough with ſuch a weighty work, as he is now to undertake. He approved of the courſe for the ends ſake; under hope notwithstanding that his Maſtieſtie would not tie his own hands from

from some moderate favour hereafter, which is all they pretend unto, and desire it may flow from the mediation of this State upon an alliance here, for the saving of their honour, who otherwise will be hardly reputed Catholiques.

In representing a facility in these things, I leave no other difficulties to be imagined.

Their good inclination to the match in general they are willing to demonstrate, (as by many other evidences, so) by the care, they are now under of lodging, and defraying my Lord of *Carlile*, and my self in a more splendid and Magnifique manner, then ever yet they did any Embassadour whatsoever, for such is the language that *Ville-aux-Cleres* holds to me upon that subject.

The Count of *Soissons* sees it, and stormes, and manifests his discontent towards me (who am the instrument) more fellie then discreetly. I encountred him the other day, and gave him the due that belonged to his rank, but instead of returning me my salute, he disdainfullie turned back his head. I was somewhat sensible thereof, and I told *Monsieur de Grandmont* of it, and as he, and I were discourfing of it the day following, *Soissons* offered himself full butt upon us a second time. I again repeated my courtesie, and he is childish in civility. *Grandmont* found it strange, and intimated to the *Marquesse de la Vaisse* a familiar, and confident of the Counts both my observation, and his own distaste of such an uncivil kind of proceeding. *Vaisse* conveyes the same to *Soissons* himself, who answered that he could not afford me a better countenance, nor for any ill will he bore unto my person, but to my errand and negotiation; which (were it not in the behalf of so great a Prince) went so near his heart, as he professed, he would cut my throat if he could. Nay, were any Prince of *Savoy*, *Mantova*, or *Germany* here in person to solicit for themselves in the like nature, he would hazard his life in the cause. Such is the language that despaire brings forth, which put me into an expectation of no lesse then a challenge to decide the quarrel. And I once verily believed it sent, for the Count *de Lude* came very soberly to me, and told me, he had a message to deliver me from a great Personage, which he intreated he might do without offence.

I desired him to speak freely what it was, and from whom He told me he was sent by the Count of *Soissons*, and I presently replied that nothing should come amisse from him. In conclusion the errand was to signifie an extream liking, that the Count took to one of my Horses, which he was desirous to buy of me upon any rate. I answered

ed, that if the Count would expresse to me his desire himself, and receive him of guift, he should be at his service, otherwise he should remain still as he was. Since that I have met him, & been prevented with a very courteous salute from him. I have been thus ample in these particular passages betwixt the Count and my self, that by the trouble you find in his disconsolate breast, you may judge of the constancie of Madams heart towards our Prince, upon whom assuredly it is most strongly set, (as she continually expresses upon all occasions.) Yesterday I had the honour to entertain her two hours together, and received so many testimonies of respect, as witnessed very warm affections towards the Personage I did represent. Amongst other discourse, She fell to speak of Ladies riding on horseback, which she said was rare here but frequent in *England*, and then expressed her delight in that exercise.

There is lately arrived here a French Gentleman (*Duport* by name) with commission from the King of *Bohemia* to sollicite this Kings favour (in consequence of his Majesties generous, and Gracious declaration in his behalf) for the recovering of his rightful inheritance, to intreat that *Baviers* may no wayes be countenanced in his unjust pretensions, and to crave (in this his extremitie) a reimbursement of the remainder of that sum, which his father lent to *Henry* the fourth in the times of his necessities, which may arise to the sum of 30000 Crownes; the facilitating of this negotiation is recommended unto me, who contribute what I can to the good successe thereof. There hath happened here this last Munday a dispute between the Marquis *de Courtenvant* one of the first Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, and the Colonel *de Ornano* (*Monsieurs* Governour) about a lodging, which this pretended unto as most convenient for him, in regard that it adjoynd to that of *Monsieurs*; but the other claimed a right unto it by a former assignation, and possession. *Ornano* at the first prevailed, till the other complained to the King, who commanded the Colonel to quit the lodging to him; which his people refusing (out of a presumption perhaps, that the commandement was rather formal then real) the King sent 3. or 4. of his guard to reiterate the commandement, and in case of refusal to obey, to cast out all the stuff, and to kill all such as should oppose. Thus *Courtenvant* got the day; perhaps by *Vieuvilles* recommendation in opposition of *Toirax*, between whom, there hath been lately a little contestation upon this occasion. *Vieuville* being desirous to strengthen himself, and to stand upon the surest bottom he could, endeavoured to joyn a confident of his in equal commission with the *Garde des Saux*, that so he might  
in

in time work it out, and prevail himself of that office at his devotion. The *Garde des Sceaux* finding feeble resistance in himself, addressed his course to *Toirax* to seek under his Covert shelter from that disgrace, and injurie. *Toirax* undertakes his defence; *Vieville* expostulates the matter with him, and alleadges many reasons to justify his intentions, which the other gaine saying, with some little warmnesse, hath occasioned by that heat, a coldnesse of affection between them ever since, and that so far forth, as it hath grown to be notorious.

To the same original, I reduce the Cardinal *de Richlieus* introduction into the Council of the Cabinet by the favour of *Vieville* (being made also an Instrument thereunto by the Queen) that by making his own partie strong in Council, he may the more easily crush any adversarie, that shall grapple with him. Yesterday he was admitted; so that now that Council is composed of the Queen Mother, the Cardinal *de la Rouch-foucault*, *Richlien*, the Constable *Vieville*, and the *Garde des Sceaux*.

Before I had finished this Letter, I had occasion to visit the Constable, to whom I used the same language, that formerly I had done to *la Vieville*, and with the like approbation. And when I touched upon the point of dispensation, how it might be passed over, he assured me in general, that such was the disposition of this King, and State to give the Prince content, as he might be (in a manner) his own Carver how he pleased.

This is the account I can give you of the publique: but how shall I expresse the deep sence I have of my obligations to your favour in particular? shall I multiply in thanks? It is too ordinary a payment for so many Noble expressions of your love. I will rather endeavour by my deeds constantly and continually to witnesse unto you, that I intirely rest

Your most faithfull and most  
Humble Servant,

*Kenfington.*

*The*



*The Lord Kensington to the Duke.**My most dear, and Noble Lord,*

**B**Efides that joynt Letter to your Lordship from my Colleague, and my self, I think fit to add this particular account of what passed yesterday at *Ruel* betwixt Queen Mother, and me; whither going to give her double thanks; as for the libertie, she had given me of accesse at all times to Madam, to entertain her henceforth with a more free, and amorous kind of language from the Prince; so for having so readily condescended to an humble suit of mine in the behalf of my Lord of *Carlisle* for a favourable Letter for him to your Lordship; she was pleased to oblige me farther in telling me she did it meerly for my sake. I redoubled my thanks, and added, that I knew your Lordship would esteeme it one of the greatest happinesse that could befall you to have an occasion offered, whereby you might witnesse, how much you adored her Majesties royal virtues, and how infinitely you were her Servant, readie to receive law from her, whensoever by the least syllable of her blessed Lips or Penn, she should please to impose it. And this I did (as on the one side to gratifie my Colleague, who would be infinitely sensible of the disgrace he apprehends in the misse of the *Ribbon*, being thus brought upon the Stage for it) as also to help to mesnage that your Gracious favour which *Monsieur de Fiatts* to my Lord represents unto him, by giving you meanes withal to oblige this sweet & blessed Queen, who hath your Lordship in a very high account, and would be glad to find occasions how she may witnesse it. The mention of my Lord of *Carlisle* upon this occasion refreshed her remembrance of the late falling out betwixt the Cardinal and him; and though she were sufficiently informed of the particulars by the Cardinal himself, yet she would needs have a relation from me, who in a merrie kind of fashion obeyed her command, and saved every thing the best I could. She would needs know my opinion of the Cardinal, who so magnified to her his wisdom, his courage, his courtesie, his fidelity to her service, his affection to our businesse as pleased her not a little. Neither did my heart and my tongue differ, for I esteem him such. This discourse she left to fall upon a better subject, the Prince, concerning whose voyage into Spain, the censure of *Italie* (she said) was, that two Kings had therein committed two great errors. The one in adventuring so precious a pledge to so hazardous an enterprise, the other in badly using so brave a guest. The first, Madam, (answered I) may be excused from the end, the common good of all Christendom,

dom, which then standing upon desperate tearmes, had need of a desperate remedie. The second had need of a better advocate then I, to put any colour of defence upon it.

But his Highnesse had observed as great a weaknesse and follie as that, in that after they had used him so ill, they would suffer him to depart, which was one of the first speeches he uttered after he was entered into the ship. But did he say so? said the Queen. Yes Madam I will assure you (quoth I) from the witnessse of my own eares. She smiled, and replied, Indeed I heard he was used ill. So he was (answered I) but not in his entertainment, for that was as splendid as that countrie could afford it, but in their frivolous delays, and in the unreasonable conditions, which they propounded, and pressed (upon the advantage they had of his Princely Person.) And yet (smilingly added I) you here (Madam) use him far worse. And how so? presently demanded she? In that you presse (quoth I) upon that most worthie, and Noble Prince, (who hath with so much affection to your Majesties service, so much passion to Madam sought this Alliance.) The same, nay more unreasonable conditions then the other, and what they traced out for the breaking of the match you follow, pretending to conclude it very unseasonably in this Con-juncture of time, especiallie when the jealousies, that such great changes in state, are apt to beget, are cunningly fomented by the Spanish Embassadour in England, who vaunts it forth, that there is not so great a change in *La Vieilles* particular person, as there is in the general affections, which did but follow before the stream of his Greatnesse and credit.

Thus casting in the Kings mind the seed of doubts, whereunto the *Conde de Olivares* in Spain hath been willing to contribute by this braving speech to our Royal Masters Embassadour there, That if the Pope ever granted a dispensation for the match with France, the King of Spain would march with an armie towards Rome and sack it. *Vrayement nous l'en empeschérons bien* (promptly answered She) *Car nous lui taglierons assez de besongne ailleurs. Mais qu'est-ce qui vous presse le plus.* I represented unto her the unfitnesse of the seventh Article (even qualified by that interpretation, hat it is) and the impossibility of the last which requires, and prescribes an oath. And desired that the honour of the Prince (with whom she pretended a will to match her Daughter) might be dearer to her, then to be balanced with that, which could add nothing to their assurance. I also humbly besought her to imploy her Credit with the King her son, her authority to the Ministers for a reformation of those two Articles especially,

*The Lord Kenfington to the Duke.*

especially, and a friendly, and speedy dispatch of all.

And if we must come to that extremitie, that more could not be altered, then already was, yet at least she would procure the allowance of this protestation by the King our Master, when he should swear them, that he intended no further to oblige himself by that oath, then might well stand with the safety, peace, tranquillity, and conveniency of his State. This shee thought reasonable, and promised to speak with the King and Cardinal about it. And if you speak as you can (replied I) I know it will be done, Though when all is done, I know not whether the King my Master will condescend so far yea, or no. Here I intreated I might weary her Majestie no further, but take the libertie she had pleased to give me in entertaining Madam with such Commandments as the Prince had charged me withall to her. She would needs know what I would say. Nay then (smiling quoth I) your Majestie will impose upon me the like Law that they in Spain did upon his Highnesse. But the case is now different (said she) for there the Prince was in person, here is but his Deputie. But a Deputie (answered I) that represents his person. *Mais pour tout cela (dit elle) qu'est ce que vous direz? Rien (dis-re) qui ne Soit digne des oreilles d'une si vertueuse Princesse. Mais qu'est ce?* redoubled she? Why then Madam (quoth I) if you will needs know, it shall be much to this effect; That your Majestie having given me the libertie of some freer Language then heretofore, I obey the Prince his Command, in presenting to her his service, not by way of Complement any longer, but out of passion, and affection, which both her outward, and her inward beauties (the virtues of her mind) so kindled in him, as he was resolved to contribute the uttermost he could to the Alliance in question, and would think it the greatestt happinesse in the world, if the successe thereof might minister occasion of expressing in a better, and more effectual manner his devotion to her service; with some little other such like amorous Language. *Allez, Allez, Il n'y a point de danger en tout cela* (smilingly answered she) *je me fie en vous, je me fie en vous.* Neither did I abuse her trust, for I varied not much from it, in delivering it to Madam, save that I amplified it to her a little more, who drank it down with joy, and with a low Curtesie acknowledged it to the Prince; adding, that she was extreamly obliged to his Highnesse, and would think her self happie in the occasion, that should be presented of meriting the place shee had in his good Graces.

After that, I turned my speech to the old Ladies that attended, and told them, That such the Queen was pleased to give me this liberty. it would

would be henceforth fit for them to speak a suitable Language. I let them know that his Highnesse had her Picture, which he kept in his Cabinet, and fed his eyes many times with the sight, and contemplation of it; sith he could not have the happinesse to behold her person. All which and other such like speeches, she (standing by) took up without letting any one fall to the ground.

But I fear your Lordship will think I gather together too much to enlarge my Letter thus far: but it is, that by these Circumstances your Lordship may make a perfect judgment of the issue of our negotiation, which I doubt not but will succeed to his Majesties, his Highnesse, and your Lordships contentment: And so yeeld matter of triumph to you, and infinite joy to me

Your Lordships

Most humble, most obliged, and  
most obedient servant,

*Kensington.*

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*The Lord Kensington to the Duke.*

*My most dear Lord,*

**T**His Bearer your Cousen's going is in such haste, as what you receive from me must be in very few words. I was yesterday with the Marquesse *de Vieville*, whom I find cordial to do good offices between ours, and this Kingdome; and he assures me by all the promises and protestations that may be, he will ever use his credit and power to do so, knowing these Kingdoms can (as the King of Spain's power and ambition increases) have no true safetie and good, unlesse we joyn in friendship and alliance. He is very free to me, telling me, That to prevent this, the King of Spain offers now the largest conditions of satisfaction and friendship that can be imagined, but their thoughts here are wholly bent towards us; And although as yet, the King cannot with honour or wisdom say more then he hath done, yet we may be assured when we are free, to be satisfied in all we can desire.

This day I understand the *Earl of Argile* is like lightning passed by



*The Earl of Holland to the Duke.*

for *Spain*, and by a special Command from the King it is to put us in more terror; That he will use his service in *Scotland*, where I believe he hath little credit and power to offend us. But howsoever they omit nothing that may dishearten us, but we are of too noble and constant a temper, either to fear their cunning or power.

My Lord, give me leave to beseech you, not to defer our business, for never can this State be found so rightly and truly inclined in love and affection towards us. And the rather hasten it, because all the art that may be is daily used from *Spain* to prevent us, and if we go not roundly and clearly with them here, they may have jealousies and discouragements that may change them: Take them therefore now, when I dare promise they are free, very free from those thoughts. My Lord, pardon the haste of this Letter, that hath no more time given me but to tell you, that you never can have any servant more devotedly yours, then is

Your Graces

Most obliged and most  
humble servant,

*Kensington.*

*The Earl of Holland to the Duke.*

*My dearest Lord,*

**W**EE have made a final conclusion of this great Treatie. Upon what terms the dispatch at large will shew your Grace: We have concluded honourably, that which we could not do safely; for to receive words, that obliged not, would have appeared an unwise, and unperfect Treatie of our part, and no way worthy of the greatnesse of our Master, nor the passion of his Highnesse, the which now hath a brave expression, since his Mistresse is only considered, and desired, and the only object of our Treatie. But I must tell you, that since we have proceeded thus, they say, they will out-go us in the like braverie, doing ten times more then we expect, or they durst promise, fearing the World would conceive all their doings conditionally; the which would be dishonourable for Madam. But that being safe, they now say their interest is greater then ours for the recovering of the *Palatinas*, and they will never abandon us in that action.

action. I hope we shall shortly have the honour and happinesse to see your Grace here; where you will be (as justly you deserve) adored. You must make haste, for we are promised our sweet Princess within six weeks. I beseech you let me know your resolution, that I may contrive which way I may best serve you against your coming. I have carefully laboured according unto your Commands in that which the Marquesse *de Fiat*. You may assure him of a speedie and good successe in it, the which he will more fully understand, when Mounseur *de la Ville-aux-Cleres* shall be in *England*. He begins his journey from hence within 3. daies. He is worthy of the best reception that can be given him, having throughout all this Treatie carried himself discreetly and affectionately. I beseech you put the Prince in mind to send his Mistris a Letter: And though I might as the first Instrument employed in his amours, expect the honour to deliver it; yet will I not give my Colleague that cause of envie. But if his Highnesse will write a private Letter unto Madam, and in it expresse some particular trust of me: And that my relations of her, have increased his passion, and affection unto her service, I shall receive much honour, and some right, since I onely have expressed what concerned his passion and affection towards her. If you think me worthy of this honour, procure a Letter to this purpose, and send it me to deliver unto her, and likewise your Commands, the which I will receive for my greatest comforts: living in unhappinesse untill I may by my services expresse how infinitely, and eternally I am

Your Graces

Most humble, and most obliged  
and devoted servant,

*Holland.*

*Postscript.*

**T**He Presents that the Prince will send unto Madam, I beseech you hasten.

*The*

*The Earl of Holland to his Majestie.*

*May it please your most excellent Majestie,*

**V**E are in all the pain that may be, to know what to answer to the malicious and continual complaints made by *Blauville* of wrongs and violences done him, even to the assaulting of him in his own lodging, the which he hath represented with so much bitterness, as it took great impression here in the hearts of all, especially of the Queen Mother, whom yesterday I saw in the accustomed priviledge hath ever been given me, to have at all times my entrance free into the *Louvre*. And I the rather went, because I would not shrink at all their furies and clamours, and it came to such a height, as Petitions were given by *Madam de Blauville*, that she might for the injuries done to her husband his Embassadour, have satisfaction upon our persons. But she was (as she deserved) despised for so passionate a follie, yet was it in consideration (as I suspect) by a word that the Queen Mother uttered in her passion to me, who with tears before all the World, being accompanied by all the Princesses and Ladies, told me, (but softly) That if your Majestie continued to affront, and suffer such indignities to be done to the Embassadour of the King her Son, your Majestie must look that your Embassadours shall be used *a la pareylie*. I confesse this stirred me so much, as I told her, That if the intentions of your Majestie were no better considered by the King here, your Majestie commanding us for the good and happiness of his Kingdom, to endeavour to bring, and give him (the which we have done) the greatest blessing in this World, Peace in his Countrie, then to be ballanced with a person, that in requital hath stirred up, and dailie desires to do it, disputes, and jarres, even between your Majestie, and the Queen, we had reason to believe your Majestie most unjustly, and most unworthily requited. And it might take away upon any such occasion, the care, that otherwise you would have had to do the like. And for my part, it took from me all desire ever to be employed upon any occasion hither, where our Actions, that their acknowledgments have been acceptable but a few daies past, are now of so little consideration, as we are of no more weight, then the unworthiest Minister that ever was employed. Upon that I found, she was sorrie for having expressed so much. But this day we had from her a more favourable audience, and from the King the effects and circumstances of that which we have in our Dispatch presented unto my Lord *Conway*.

Sir,

Sir, the malice of this *Blanville* is so great unto your worthie servant my Lord Duke, as he hath written a private Letter unto the King, the which I saw by the favour of a friend, that he is in a condition of danger to be ruined by the furie and power of the Parliament. And to confirm him in that opinion, hath sent all the passages amongst them that concern my Lord Duke; adding to that, of great factions against him at the Councel Table, and naming some Lords, the which makes me see, he hath intelligence with all those, that he believes may contribute any thing towards the mischieving of him. But those that know the magnanimitie and noblenesse of your Majesties heart, know that so noble a vessel of honour and service as he is, shall never be in danger for all the storms that can threaten him: when it is in your Majesties hands not onely to calm all these tempests, but to make the Sun, and beams of your favour to shine more clearly upon his deservings then ever, the which upon this occasion your courage and virtue will no doubt do, to the encouragement of all deserving, and excellent servants, and to his honour and comfort that is the most worthie that ever Prince had: And so affectionate, that the world hath no greater admirations, then the fortunes that the Master and servant have run together. And certainly our good God will ever preserve that affection, that in so many accidents, and one may say afflictions, hath preserved your Persons.

Sir, this boldnesse, that I take, proceeds not from the least doubt these foolish rumours give me of changes, but out of a passionate meditation of those accidents, that your courage and fortune hath carried you through, blessing God for your prosperitie, the which will be by his grace most glorious, and lasting, according to the prayers of

Your Majesties

Most humble, and most obedient  
Subject, and servant,

Paris  $\frac{1}{2}$ . March,  
1625.

*Holland.*

*The*



*The Earl of Holland to the Duke.**My dear Lord,*

THIS Messenger is so rigid, and such an enemy to all *Janitaille*, as by him I will not send any news in that kind; but when the little *Mercurie* comes, you shall know that which shall make you joy, and grieve that you cannot enjoy what your fate and merit hath so justly destined unto you. We have such daily alarms here out of *England* from *Blanville*, of the beating of his servant, and at the last the danger, that of late he himself hath been in, of being assassinated in his own house; for the first word that his servant said unto the King, and the whole Court was, The Embassadour had run such a bazard of his life, as no man that heard him believed he had escaped with lesse then 5. or 6. wounds. Insomuch as your friend *Bontev* asked, *Fait on belle fine*: And this hath so animated this Court, being (as your Lordship knowes) apt upon all occasions to be fired, and stirred up, as the King hath been moved to forbid us our entries, and liberties here. And yesterday Madam *de Blanville* did openly petition the King to imprison us for the wrongs and injuries done unto her husband, and his Embassadour, that she feared was by this time dead. But that had no other effect but to be laugh't at. I never (I confesse) saw the Queen Mother in so much distraction and passion, for she never speaks of her Daughter but with tears, and yesterday with some heat and bitterness to me about it: the Circumstances I have taken the boldnesse to present unto his Majestie. That which distracts me infinitely, is to hear, that they do traduce you, as the cause of all these misfortunes, and that you stirre up the King to these displeasures. And so much impression it hath made into the Queen Mother, as this day at the audience she told me, That you had made the marriage, and were now, as she imagined, and was informed, resolved to destroy your work. I asked her what particularitie could make her say, and believe so against the general, and continual actions and endeavours, that the whole world ought to be satisfied of your infinite care, and affection, to fasten and tie together a good, and constant intelligence and friendship between these Crowns. She told me, that you intreated Madam *de St. George* to do some service for you to the Queen, the which she did, and instead of giving her thanks, you threatned the sending of her away. I told her, Though I had as yet heard nothing of this particularitie, yet I knew your nature to be so generous, as you would never do any action unjust. I told her, that she

she must distinguish between what you say as Commanded by the King, and what you say of your self: for if it be his pleasure to make the instrument to convey his will upon any occasion of his displeasure, you are not to dispute, but to obey his Command in that, and in all other things. I told her farther, that I saw the continual malice of the Embassadour, that invents daily injuries and falshoods of your Lordship, to unload himself from his insolencies and faults; but I hoped that nothing should light upon your Lordship, but what you deserved, the which to my knowledge was more value and esteem, then any man in the world could, or can ever merit from this Kingdom. And I desired her, not to entertain the belief of these things too hastily, until we had newes out of *England*, that we knew would contradict all these malicious discourses. And I must tell your Grace, that by a friend (whom I am tyed not to name) I was shewed the private Lettter that *Blauville* wrote to the King, in the which he sent him the whole proceedings of the Parliament; and concludes they will ruine you, naming great factions against you, and as it were a necessity to destroy you. But I hope he, and the whole world here will fall, before any misfortunes should fall upon so generous, and so noble a deserver of his Master, and so excellent a friend and Patron unto

Your Graces

Most humble, and most obedient servant,

*Holland.*

*Postscript.*




**T**Hough the Embassadour deserves nothing but contempt and disgrace as *Blauville*, yet I hope as Embassadour he shall receive (for publique Honours and accustomed respect to Embassadours) all possible satisfaction, and it will be conceived a generous action.

*Qe*

*My*




*My dearest Lord,*

ALL the joy I have, hath such a flatnesse set upon it by your absence from hence, as I protest to God, I cannot relish it as I ought; for though beautie and love I find in all perfection and fullnesse, yet I vex, and languish to find impediments in our designs and services for you: first in the businesse, for I find our mediation must have no place with this King concerning a Peace. We must only use our power with those of the Religion, to humble them to reasonable Conditions, and that done, they would as far as I can guesse have us gone, not being willing that we should be so much as in the Kingdom, when the Peace is made, for fear the Protestants may imagine, we have had a hand in it. For our Confederation, made by you at the *Hague*, they speak so of it, as they will do something in it, but not so really or friendly as we could wish. But for these things, you allow me, (I trust) to refer you to the general Dispatch: I come now to other particulars; I have been a careful Spie how to observe intentions, and affections towards you. I find many things to be feared, and none to be assured of a safe and real welcome. For the  continues in his suspects, making (as they say) very often discourses of it, and is willing to hear *Villanes* say, That  hath infinite affections, you imagine which way. They say there is whispered amongst the foolish young Bravado's of the Court, That he is not a good *Frenchman* that suffers  to return out of *France*, considering the reports that are raised, many such bruits flie up and down. I have since my coming given Queen Mother by way of discourse occasion to say somewhat concerning your coming, as the other night when she complained to me, That things were carried harshly in *England* towards *France*; I then said, That the greatest unkindnesse and harshnesse came from hence, even to forbid your coming hither, a thing so strange, and so unjust, as our Master had cause, and was infinitely sensible of it. She fell into discourse of you, desiring you would respect, and love her daughter; and likewise that she bad, and would ever command her to respect you above all men, and follow all your Councels (the matter of her Religion excepted) with many professions of value and respect unto your Person; but would never either excuse what I complained of, or invite you to come upon that occasion.

*Mr. Lorkin to the Duke.*

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sion. But though neither the businesse gives me cause to perswade your coming, nor my reason for the matter of your safetie; yet know you are the most happie, unhappie man alive, for  is beyond imagination right, and would do things to destroy her fortune, rather then want satisfaction in her mind. I dare not speak as I would, I have ventured I fear too much, considering what practises accompany the malice of the people here. I tremble to think whether this will find a safe conveyance unto you. Do what you will, I dare not advise you; to come is dangerous, not to come is unfortunate. As I have lived with you, and only in that enjoy my happinesse, so I will die with you, and I protest to God for you, to do you the least service, &c.

*Postscript.*

**H**Ave no doubt of the partie that accompanied me, for he is yours with his soul, and dares not now (as things go) advise your coming.

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*Mr. Lorkin to the Duke, the 30. of  
August, 1625.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**F**ROM an honest and truly devoted heart, to receive the sacrifice of most humble thanks, which come here offered for that excesse of favour, which I behold in those gracious lines, that you are so nobly pleased to honour me withal; and which derive unto me farther, the height of all contentment, his Majesties gracious acceptance of my poor endeavours; which howsoever they cannot shoot up to any high matter from so low an earth, yet (in their greatest force) are eternally vowed (with the price of my dearest blood) as to his Masters faithful service in the first place, so to your Graces in the next; who have received I doubt not ere this, what my former promised in the *Savoyard* Embassadours behalf, and that as well from his own pen, as mine. But this State is very *Enripus*, that flowes, and reflowes 7. times a day, and in whose waies is neither constancie, nor truth. The changes your Grace will find in my Letters to my Lord *Canway*,

Qq 2

where



## Mr. Lorkin to the Duke.

whereunto I therefore make reference, because I suppose, there will be but one Lecture thereof to his Majestie, and your self.

Therein likewise your Grace will see a suddain comandement laid upon *Monsieur de Blauville* *premiere Gentilhomme de la chambre du Roy* speedily to provide himself to go extraordinary Embassadour into *England*. The cause thereof I rove at in my dispatch, taking my aime from two darke speeches to Queen Mother, and the Cardinal. I have since learned the interpretation of the riddle, not from the Cardinals lips (who yet being sounded by me, pretended a further end then *Ville-aux-cleres* had done, viz; to entertain good intelligence betwixt the Queen of *England*, and your Grace, and to do you all the best offices, and services that are possible;) but from the Duke *de Chevreux*, who (whatsoever pretexts may be taken) makes the true ends of that Voyage to be, first, to try whether this man can mend what (they conceive here) the Duke hath marred, in shewing himself more a servant to the King of *England*, then to his own King and Master. Secondly, to spie and discover what he can; and (according as he shall find cause) to frame Cabals, and factions, whereunto he is esteemed very proper, being characterized with the marks of a most subtile, prying, penetrating, and dangerous man.

And therefore as an Antidote against the poison he brings, the Duke gives this Caveat aforehand, That every one keep close, and covert towards him, and avoid familiaritie with him, though (otherwise) he wishes a kind and honourable entertainment.

Thus much I received from the Dukes own lips yesternight; (*Benocil* being witnesse, perhaps Counsellour of all that passed) he promised a memorial in-writing this day, which I have attended till this evening, and even now receive it.

I have not touched the least syllable hereof to my Lord *Conway*, because I think both your Graces, and the Duke *de Chevreux's* will may concur in this, that these things be not subject to many eyes.

Even now the *Savoyard* Embassadour sends an expresse Messenger unto me to hasten to *Fountain Bleau*. Perhaps it may be to facilitate the Treatie with *Rochel*, by either some Letter, or Journey of mine thither.

But upon the conference I have had with the Duke *de Chevreux*, I shall temporise, till I hear his Majesties pleasure, or see good evidences.

dences of generous effects like to ensue. Being desirous to shape my course so, as may be most acceptable to his Majestie, and pleasing to your Grace, whose virtues I adore, in qualitie of

Your Graces

Most humble, most faithful, and  
most obedient servant,

Tho. Lorkin.

*Postscript.*

THE Duke de Chevreux expects the Cypher from your Grace, if I be not deceived.

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Mr. Lorkin to the Duke 17. September, 1625.

*May it please your Grace,*

TO read and consider two contrary advertisements ; the one given me on Munday evening by *des Porches*, who repeating what he had told me before, (*D'avoir des trompé la Roynne mere en mil, et mil choses*) assured me, that her thoughts were now so far changed from what they were, as she remitted every thing to his Majesties pleasure to do what he list, (provided, that he attempted not upon the conscience of the Queen her Daughter, which was the only point she was tender in, and scrupulous) that she had written a very sharp Letter, full of good lessons, and instructions to her, that she had as clear a heart to your Grace, as was possible ; had sent for *Blauvil* expressly to alter his instructions, and that howsoever he (like a hollow-hearted man) had uttered in confidence to a friend of his, That he would perswade the Queen of England to put on a reconciled countenance for a time, till the way should be better prepared to give your Grace a dead list, yet the Queen Mothers intentions were assuredly sincere and good. The *Savoyards* Embassadours voyage was not then resolved, but his Secretarie prepared to make it in his room. Of whom *Pochoves* (by the way) gave this touch, That there was a great correspondence between *Madamoiselle de Truges*, and him (contracted upon occasions of frequent visits, that had passed betwixt her Mother, and the Embassadour) and that therefore a careful eye was to be had of him.

Another

Another (who must be namelesse) sent for me yesterday in the fore-  
 noone to tell me, that *Pere Berule's* errand hither was only to make  
 out-cries against the decree, or proclamation against the Catholiques,  
 and to accuse your Grace as the Principal, if not the only author,  
 who was now of a seeming friend become a deadly foe. That the Earl  
 of *Arundel* had (out of his respect unto this State) purposely absen-  
 ted himself, that he might not be guilty of so pernicious a Council.  
 That your Grace and my Lord of *Holland*, had both but very slip-  
 pery hold in his Majesties affections; that if this King would imploy  
 his credit as he might, it would be no hard matter to root you both  
 out thence, that there were good preparatives for it already, and  
 that my Lords *Arundel*, and *Pembroke* would joyn hands and heads  
 together to accomplish the effect. Whereupon *Blainville* was sent  
 for back to be more particularly instructed in the waies how to com-  
 passe it; and would speedily post away in diligence. The same par-  
 ty added, that the propositions which the Marquesse *de Fiast* had  
 made bout the League, and Fleet, were before *Brule's* arrival some-  
 what well tasted, but since slighted, as those, that became cheap (by  
 their offer to divers others, as well as them) that the said Marquesse  
 should have visited *Blainville* at *Paris*, and sounded him about his  
 errand after this manner.

First, whether he had order to disnestle *Madam de St. Georges*  
 Whereto the answer was, No; and that it was against all reason of  
 State so to do; and when the other replied, that the world was come  
 to a bad passe, if reason of State descended as low as her, *Blainville*  
 remained silent.

Secondly, whether he had commission to introduce the *Dutchesse* of  
*Buckingham* and the Countesse of *Denbigh* into the Queenes bed-  
 chamber. Answer was made, that it was a nice, and tender point,  
 and if that were once condescended to, they would be continually  
 whispering in the Queenes ear, how dear she would be to the King  
 her Husband, how plausible, and powerful among the people, how  
 beloved of all, if she would change her religion, against which they  
 were in conscience here bound to provide, and therefore conclude  
 with a refusal of that likewise.

Thirdly, whether he carried any good instructions about an offen-  
 sive, or defensive league whereunto the negative was still repeated;  
 but that he carried brave offers for the entertainment of *Mansfelt*.  
 And when the Marquesse replied, that if that were all the content-  
 ment he carried, he feared she would find but a very cold welcome;  
 the other added, that perhaps he might be an Instrument to make  
 the

the Queen and Duke friends. This were good (quoth the Marquesse) if the Queen had not as much need of the Dukes friendship, as the Duke of hers, and upon these terms they parted. The same lips that uttered all this, gave caution likewise against the *Savoyard* Embassadour, as a cunning, deep, hollow-hearted man. And being felt by me, how his pulse beat towards *Porcheres*, told me he was a mercenarie man, and no wayes to be trusted. In the issue of all this, his Councel was, That your Grace would consider well your own strength, and what ground you have in his Majesties favour, If it be solid, and good, then a Bravado will not do amisse (may be powerful here, to make them to see their own errour, and to walk upright) so it end with a good close; but if your station be not sure, then he Counsels to prevent the storm; for to break with all Spain, *France*, Puritanes, Papists, were not wisdom; And desires that by any meanes you instantly dispatch a Currier to me to represent the true state of things at home, and how you desire matters should be ordered for your service here abroad, so that there may be fabriqued a more solid contentment to your Grace whose, hands I most humbly kisse in quality of

Your Graces

Most humble, most faithfull, most obedient, and most obliged Servant,

*Tho. Lorkin.*

*Postscript.*

**I**F my stay be intended long, it will be necessary that I use a Cypher, which I humbly beseech your Grace to send me, or to give me leave to frame one as I can.

As I was closing up my Letter, Mr. *Gerbier* arrived, who hath been somewhat indisposed in his health by the way, but now is reasonably well God be thanked. His coming is very seasonable, and I assure my self will be useful.

By the discourse, I have had with Mr. *Gerbier*, I see a little clearer into the state of things here, and think *Porcheres* his advertisement may be truer, as being perhaps grounded upon knowledge, the other springing only upon conjecture, built upon *Berul's* clamours, and overtures, and the suddain sending for *Monsieur Blauville* back. Your Grace will see day in all shortly. But assuredly the latter advice comes from a heart that is affectionately devoted to your Graces service.



*The Lord Herbert to his Majestie.*

vice. This Bearer will kisse your Graces hands from the Authour; and thereby you will know his name, which he stipulated might not come in writing.

*The Lord Herbert to his Majestie.*

*My most Gracious Sovereign,*

**N**OW, that, I thank God for it, his Highnesse according to my continual prayers, hath made a safe, and happie return, unto your Sacred Majesties presence, I thinke my self bound by way of Compleat obedience to these Commandements I received from your Majestie, both by Mr. Secretary *Calvert*, and my Brother *Henry*, to give your Majestie an account of that sense, which the general sort of people doth entertain here concerning the whole frame and Context of his Highnesse voyage. It is agreed on all parts, that his Highnesse must have received much contentment, in seeing two great Kingdomes, and consequently in enjoyning that satisfaction, which Princes, but rarely, and not without great peril, obtain. His Highnesse discretion, diligence, and Princely behaviour every where likewise is much praised. Lastly, since his Highnesse journey hath fallen out so well, that his Highnesse is come back, without any prejudice to his person, or dignity, they say the successe hath sufficiently commended the Councel. This is the most common censure (even of the biggest party, as I am informed) which I approve in all, but in the last point, in the delivery whereof I find something to dislike, and therefore tell them, that things are not to be judged alone, by the successe, and that, when they would not look so high as Gods providence, without which no place is secure, they might find even in reason of State, so much, as might sufficiently warrant his Highnesse person, and liberty to return.

I will come from the ordinary voice to the selecter judgement, of the Ministers of State, and more intelligent people in this Kingdom, who, though they nothing vary from the above recited opinion, yet as more profoundly looking into the state of this long treated of Alliance betwixt your Sacred Majestie, and Spain, in the persons of his Highnesse, and the Infanta, they comprehended their sentence thereof (as I am informed) in three Propositions.

First, that the protestation which the King of Spain made to his Highnesse upon his departure, whereby he promised to chase away,  
and

and disfavour all those, who should oppose this marriage, doth extend no further, then to the said Kings Servants, or at furthest, not beyond the temporal Princes, his Neighbours, so that the Pope being not included herein, it is, though his consent must be yet obtained, and consequently, that the businesse is in little more forwardnesse then when it first began.

Secondly, that the Pope will never yield his consent, unlesse your Sacred Majestie, grant some notable priviledges and advantage to to the Roman Catholique religion in your Sacred Majesties Kingdomes.

Thirdly, that the said King of Spain would never insist, upon obtaining those priviledges, but that he more desires, to form a party in your Sacred Majesties Kingdomes, which he may keep alwaies obsequious to his will, then to maintain a friendly correspondence between your Sacred Majestie, and himself. I must not in the last place omit to acquaint your Sacred Majestie, very particularly, with the sense which was expressed by the *bons Francois*, and bodie of those of the Religion, who heartily wish, that the same Greatnesse which the King of Spain doth so affect over all the world, and still maintaines even in this country, which is to be Protector of the Jesuited, and Bigott partie, your Sacred Majestie would imbrace, in being defender of our faith. The direct answer to which, though I evade, and therefore reply little more, then that this Counsel was much fitter, when the union in *Germany* did subsist, then at this time? Yet do I think my self obliged to represent the affection they bear unto your Sacred Majestie. This is as much as is come to my notice, concerning that point, your Sacred Majestie gave me in charge, which therefore I have plainely layd open, before your Sacred Majesties eyes, as understanding well, that Princes never receive greater wrong, then when the Ministers, they put in trust, do palliate and disguise those things, which it concerns them to know. For the avoiding whereof let me take the boldnesse to assure your Sacred Majestie, that those of this Kings Council here, will use all meanes they can, both to the King of Spain, and to the Pope (In whom they pretend to have very particular interest) not only to interrupt, but if it be possible to break off you Sacred Majesties Alliance with Spain. For which purpose the Count de *Tilliers* hath strict command, to give al punctual advice, that accordingly they may proceed. It rests, that I most humbly beseech your Sacred Majestie to take my free relation of these particulars in good part, since I am of no faction, nor have any passion, or interest; but faithfullie to perform that service,

*Mr. Edward Clark to the Duke.*

and dutie which I owe to your Sacred Majestie, for whose perfect health, and happinesse, I pray with the devotion, of

From Merton Castle  
the 31. of October,  
1623. Stil No.

Your Sacred Majesties most obedient, most  
Loyal, and most affectionate Subject  
and Servant,

*Herbert.*

*Mr. Edward Clark to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Have been hitherto very unfit (by reason of my sicknesse) to give your Lordship any account of my time at *Madrid*. So that without your Lordships favourable construction, I may be thought forgetful of the trust committed to my charge, and the rather, in that as yet your Lordship hath only heard what I have done, but not why. I presume I have faithfullie followed the Princes direction, and on such probable inducements, as will I hope both in your Highnesses and your Lordships opinion plead my excuse at least. The verie day the Prince arrived at *St. Anderas*, my Lord of *Bristol*, seeing me verie weak, told me he was verie sorrie, I was not able to perform the journie for *England*, for that now there was an extraordinary occasion of a dispatch, not only in respect of the ratification come the night before; but because also they were almost come to a final conclusion of all articles, which were to be engrossed, and signed the next day. Hereupon I was inquisitive to know what assurance he had the Ratification was come: He answered, that, that verie day, he had been summoned to attend the *Junta*, and that there they had earnestlie pressed him, that the Articles might be speedilie drawn up, and signed, since they had now received full warrant to authorize them to proceed; And that the next day was appointed accordingly. Thereupon unwilling to omit the present opportunitie, conceiving withal the purpose of the Princes Letter to be, either to expresse his Highnesse further pleasure before the meeting of the *Junta*, or to prevent the concluding of some other particular Article they might otherwise fall upon: I delivered his Letter to his Lordship (pretending it came to my hands amongst other Letters that same day) I found him exceedingly troubled in reading it, nor did he forbear to tell me, it must for a time be concealed; for he feared

feared, if they should come to the knowledge of it they would give order to stay the Prince. Upon these motives, and in this manner I parted with it, wherein I humbly submitting my self to his Highnesse Construction, I remain

Madrid, 1. Octob.  
1623.

Your Graces humblest servant  
to command,

Ed. Clark.

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Mr. Edward Clark to the Duke.

My Lord,

THE Infanta's preparation for the *Disposorio* was great, but greater sorrow (good Ladie) to see it deferred. It hath bred in them all some distraction. The multitude know not what to conjecture, what to say, but cry *Piden el Palatinato*. They confesse the demand just, but unseasonable, and do publish, that (the *Disposorio* past) the Infanta on her knees should have been a suitor to the King to restore it, making it thereby her act, and drawing the obligation wholly to her. I must confesse, I want faith to believe it, and the rather, because I see it reflect secretly, and maliciously upon your Lordship, who are made the authour of all the impediments that happen, not by your enemies onely, but by those that should suppress it. Which troubles me so much, that I hasten all I can my return, since I know no other then to be

Your Graces faithfullservant,

Madrid, 6. Sept.  
1623.

Edw. Clark.

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Sir Anthony Ashley to the Duke.

May it please your good Lordship,

IF any thing had happened worth your knowledge, I had either come or sent to *Theobalds* in your absence, being ascertained that your Lordship had been already particularly informed of what passed in the Higher House betwixt the Earl of A. and the L. S. which is the onely thing of note, and is thought will beget some noveltie.

Your Lordship may be most assured, that your Adversaries con-

R r 2

tinue



*Sir Wa. Rawleigh to the Duke.*

tinne their meetings and conferences here in *Holborn*, how to give his Majestie some foul distaste of you, as making you the onely authour of all grievances and oppressions whatsoever for your private ends. And I hope to be able within few daies (if promise be kept) to give you good overture of a mutual oath taken to this purpose amongst them.

The rumour lately spread touching his Majesties untimely pardon of the late Lord Chancellours Fine and Imprisonment, with some other favours intended towards him, (said to be procured by your Lordships only intimation) hath exceedingly exasperated the rancor of the ill affected, which albeit it be false, and unlikely, because very unseasonably; It doth yet serve the present turn, for the increase of malice against you. I can but inform your Lordship of what I understand, you may please to make use thereof as your self thinketh best.

I most humbly intreat your good Lordship to keep Letters of this nature either in your own Cabinet, or to make Hereticks of them: for I am well acquainted with the disposition of some Pen-men in Court. Upon Message even now received of my poor Daughters suddain dangerous sicknesse, I am constrained unmannerly to post unto her, being the onely comfort I have in this world, and do purpose God willing a speedie return. In the mean time, and even with my heartie prayer I commend your good Lordship to Gods merciful and safe keeping. This 12<sup>th</sup>. of *May*, 1621.

Your honourable good Lordships  
faithfully devoted,

A. A.

*Sir Wa. Rawleigh to the Duke, 12. Aug.*

**I**F I presume too much, I humbly beseech your Lordship to pardon me, especially in presuming to write to so great and worthie a person, who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late, but most happie had I been, if I might have disproved that villanie against me, when there had been no suspicion, that the desire to save my life, had presented my excuse.

But my worthie Lord, it is not to excuse my self that I now write: I cannot, for I have now offended my Sovereign Lord: for all past,  
even

even all the world, and my very enemies have lamented my losse, whom now if his Majesties mercie alone do not lament, I am lost. Howsoever, that which doth comfort my soul in this offence is, that even in the offence it self, I had no other intent then his Majesties service, and to make his Majestie know, That my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth, and which with one Ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured, or to have died; being resolved (as it is well known) to have done it from *Plymouth*, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not onely to recover his Majesties gracious opinion, but to have destroyed all those malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that Gentleman whom I so much trusted, (my Keeper) and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but testifie, and wherein if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witnesse: Yea that Gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards *London*, I desired to save no other Treasure, then the exact description of those places in the *Indies*. That I meant to go hence as a discontented man, God I trust, and mine own Actions will dissuade his Majestie. Whom neither the losse of my estate, thirteen years imprisonment, and the denial of my pardon could beat from his service, nor the opinion of being accounted a fool, or rather distract, by returning as I did, ballanced with my love to his Majesties person, and estate, had no place at all in my heart.

It was that last severe Letter from my Lords for the speedie bringing of me up, and the impatience of dishonour, that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment, never to recover my reputation lost, which strengthened me in my late, and too late lamented resolution, if his Majesties mercie do not abound: if his Majestie do not pitie my age, and scorn to take the extreamest and utmost advantage of my errours: if his Majestie in his great charitie do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-saving-natural impulsion, without all ill intent, and those of an ill heart; and that your Lordship, remarkable in the world for the Noblenesse of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my Intercessour, whereby your Lordship shall bind an hundred Gentlemen of my kindred to honour your memorie, and bind me for all the time of that life which your Lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper, and over-bind me to remain

Your most humble servant,

W. Rawleigh.

Sir,

Sir Henry Yelverton to the Duke, 15. March,  
1623.

*May it please your Grace,*

**M**Y humble heart and affection hath wrote many lines, and presented many Petitions to your Grace before this time, though none legible but one sent by my Lord *Rockford*, within five daies after your most welcomed arrival from *Spain*.

I have learned the plain phrase of honest speech. My Lord, I have honoured your name long, and your own virtue much. I never found misfortune greater then this, that still sailing after you in all humble desires of dutie, I was still cast behind you. I excuse nothing, wherein your Grace may judge me faultie, but will be glad to expiate my errors at any price.

Your noble heart (I hope) harbours no memorie of what did then distaste you. Your own merits which have so much ennobled you, will be the more compleat, if I may but merit your forgetfulness of wrongs past. If I seek your Grace before I deserve it, enable me I beseech you to Deserve, that I may seek. If any, on whom you have cast your eye most, endear himself more to your service, then I shall; let me not follow the vintage at all. Till this day I feared the relish of sower Grapes, though I have sought you with many broken sleeps. But this Noble Earl, whose honour for this work shall ever with me be second to yours, hath revived me, with the assurance of your gracious pardon, and libertie to hope, I may be deemed your servant.

I protest to God, it is not the affluence of your honour makes me joy in it, nor the power of your Grace, that trains me on to seek it, but let the trial of all your fortunes speak thus much for me, that I will follow you, not as *Cyrus* his Captains and Souldiers followed him, the one for spoil, the other for place: but if with safetie to your Grace, though with perill to my self, I may serve you, let me die if I do it not, rather then want any longer, what my humble love ever led me to, and I still affect the honour

To be yours,

*Henry Yelverton.*

Sir

*Right Honourable,*

With what affection I have served your Grace, I desire rather it should be read in my actions, then my words, which made me sparing in my last relation to touch those difficulties, wherewith my Letters have been checkt, that they might the more fully speak themselves. I shall not seek to glosse them now, but as they have been, leave them to your Graces acceptance, which I presume so noble, that scandal or detraction cannot decline it. It were an injurie of your worth, which I dare not attempt, to insinuate the opinion of any merit by false colours, or pretences, or with hard circumstances to endear my labours, and might beget suspicion, sooner then assurance in your credit, which I may not hazard. My innocence I hope needs not these, nor would I shadow the least error under your protection. But where my services have been faithful, and not altogether vain, directed truly to the honour and benefit of your place, onely suffering upon the disadvantage of your absence, I must importune your Grace to support my weaknesse, that it may cause no prejudice of your rights and liberties, which I have studied to preserve, though with the losse of mine own. My instance therein hath exposed me to a long imprisonment, and great charge, which still increaseth, and threatens the ruine of my poor fortunes, if they be not speedily prevented. For which, as my endeavours have been wholly yours, I most humbly crave your Graces favour both to my self, and them; In which I am devoted

Your Graces thrice-humble  
Servant,

*J. Eliot.*

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*The Earl of Oxford to the Duke.*

*My Lord,*

I Cannot but believe that I have had some undeserved ill offices done me unto your Lordship, otherwise I should not find this difficultie in being preferred, if not afore, at least equally in ballance with my Accusers. It is common unto all mens understanding, that it is not the



*The Earl of Oxford to the Duke.*

the guilt of the accused, but the legal and just proceeding, which clears the Kings honour, and this I do, and ever will acknowledge to have been held towards me. Neither was it ever known, that the Kings Grace, the more it came sweetned with his favour, did lessen or diminish his honour, but rather seemed as a lustre to make his goodnesse shine brighter, and oblige the Receiver in a more strict Tye of gratitude. My Lord, it cannot wrong you to oblige me to your service, nor add reputation to you throw me upon Rocks. I appeal to the King, and your own Conscience, whether ever I have harboured any treasonable thoughts, either against his Majestie, or his issue, that should make me incapable of receiving his grace, without imputation to those faithfull and dutiful respects, with which I have ever served his Majestie; If it shall please him to line me out my path to death (the period whither we must all travel to) by imprisonment, I shall be far from repining at the sentence, but with all humbleness, will undergo it, and employ my heartiest prayers for the long continuance of his honour and happiness.

I beseech your Lordship receive my Character of what I am, and have ever been towards you, not from Conjectures and reports of others, but from my own mouth, and actions. For yet I have reason to suspect your opinion of me, else sure I should have found better fruits of your power. I was alwaies (as much as lay in me) desirous to outstrip, rather then come short of any in doing you service, and the same affections still remain with me, of the truth of which I pray you be confident:

To this onely I will add one request more, which is, That since your Lordship is pleased to mediate with his Majestie for my freedom, you will procure it so free from rubs, as that my obligation may be the greater, which I will ever willingly and faithfully pay unto your Lordship in all respects, like him, who truly is

Your Lordships, &c.

H.O.

*The*

*My Lord,*

**T**Hough you may judge what pleasure there is in the conversation of a man in the distemper you see your Brother in; yet the dutie I owe to a husband, and the affection I bear him, (which sicknesse shall not diminish,) makes me much desire to be with him, to adde what comfort I can to his afflicted mind, since his onely desire is my Companie. Which if it please you to satisfie him in, I shall with a very good will suffer with him, and think all but my dutie, though I think every wise would not do so. But if you can so far dispense with the Lawes of God, as to keep me from my Husband, yet aggravate it not by restraining from me his means, and all other contentments, but which I think is rather the part of a Christian, you especially ought much rather to studie comforts for me, then to adde ills to ills, since it is the marriage of your Brother makes me thus miserable. For if you please but to consider not only the lamentable estate I am in, deprived of all Comforts of a husband, and having no means to live of: besides falling from the hopes my fortune then did promise me, for you know very well I came no beggar to you, though I am like so to be turned off.

[For your own honor, and Conscience sake, take some course to give me satisfaction, to tie my tongue from crying to God, and the world for vengeance for the unworthy dealing I have received. And think not to send me again to my Mothers, where I have stayed this quarter of a year, hoping (for that my Mother said you promised,) order should be taken for me, but I never received pennie from you. Her confidence of your Noblenesse made me so long silent; but now believe me, I will sooner begg my bread in the streets to all your dishonours, then any more trouble my friends, and especially my Mother, who was not onely content to afford us part of the little means she hath left her, but whilest I was with her, was continually distempered with devised Tales, which came from your Familie, and withal lost your good opinion, which before she either had, or you made shew of it; but had it been real, I cannot think her words would have been so translated, nor in the power of discontented servants Tales to have ended it.

My Lord, if the great honour you are in, can suffer you to have so mean a thought as of so miserable a creature as I am, so made by too much Credulitie of your fair promises, which I have waited for performance of almost these five years: And now it were time to de-

*Dr. Donne to the Marquesse of Buckingham.*

spair, but that I hope you will one day be your self, and be governed by your own noble thoughts, and then I am assured to obtain what I desire, since my desires be so reasonable, and but for mine own. Which whether you grant or no, the affliction my poor husband is in, (if it continue) will keep my mind in a continual purgatorie for him, and will suffer me to sign my self no other, but

Your unfortunate Sister,

*F. Parbeck.*

*Dr. Donne to the Marquesse of Buckingham,*

13<sup>th</sup>. Septemb. 1621.

*My most honoured Lord,*

**I** Most humbly beseech your Lordship to afford this ragge of paper a room amongst your evidences. It is your evidence not for a Mannour, but for a man. As I am a Priest it is my sacrifice of prayer to God for your Lordship; and as I am a Priest, made able to subsist, and appear in Gods service by your Lordship, it is a sacrifice of my self to you. I deliver this paper as my Image; and I assist the power of any Conjuror, with this imprecation upon my self, that as he shall tear this paper, this picture of mine, so I may be torn in my fortune, and in my fame, if ever I have any corner in my heart, dispossessed of a zeal to your Lordships service. His Majestie hath given me a royal Key into your Chamber, leave to stand in your presence, and your Lordship hath already such a fortune, as that you shall not need to be afraid of a suitor, when I appear there. So that I protest to your Lordship, I know not what I want, since I cannot suspect, nor fear my self for ever doing, or leaving undone any thing by which I might forfeit that title, of being alwaies

Your Lordships, &c.

*J. D.*

*Dr.*

*My Honour'd Lord,*

ONce I adventured to say to the Prince his Highnesse, That I was sure he would receive a book from me, the more gratically, because it was dedicated to your Grace: I proceed justlie upon the same confidence, that your Grace will accept this, because it is his by the same title. If I had not overcome that reluctance, which I had in my self of representing devotions, and mortifications to a young and active Prince, I should not have put them into your presence, who have done so much, and have so much to do in this world, as that it might seem enough to think seriously of that. No man in the bodie of storie, is a full president to you, nor may any future man promise himself an adæquation to his precedent, if he make you, his. Kings have discerned the seeds of high virtues in many men, and upon that Gold, they have put their stamp, their favours upon those persons: But then those persons have laboured under the jealousie of the future Heire; And some few, have had the love of Prince, and King, but not of the Kingdom, and some of that too, and not of the Church; God hath united your Grace so to them all, that as you have received obligations from the King, and Prince, so you have laid obligations upon the Church and state. They above, love you out of their judgement, because they have loved you: and we below, love you out of our thankfulness, because you have loved us. Gods privie Seal is the testimonie of a good conscience, and his broad-Seal is the outward blessings of this life. But since his Pillar of fire, was seconded with a Pillar of Cloud, and that all his temporal blessings have some partial Eclipses, and the purest consciences some remorses: so though he have made your way to Glorie, Glorie; and brought you in the armes and bosome, of his Vicegerent, into his own arms and bosome, yet there must come a minute of twilight in a natural death. And as the reading of the actions of great men, may assist you for great actions, so for this one necessarie descent of dying, (which I hope shall be the onely step of *Lownes*, that ever you shall passe by, and by that late) you may receive some Remembrances, from the Meditations and Devotions of

Your Graces Devoutest Servant,

*J. Donne.*



## Sir John Hipsley to the Duke.

*My Noble Lord,*

I Find that all my Lord of *Bristols* actions are so much extolled, that what you command me to say is hardly believed. I will say no more in it, but leave the rest to Mr. *Greibams*; only this, that you have written much to the King in some mans behalf, and Mr. *Gresley* hath a 100. a year given him during his life, all which I think is without your knowledge; And Mr. *Killegrew* hath the like, that came for your sake after the other was granted. Mr. *Greibams* can tell you how that came. My Lord of *Southampton* hath offered his son to marrie with my Lord Treasurers Daughter, and tells him this reason, that now is the time he may have need of friends, but it is refused as yet; the event I know not what that will be.

I have spoken to the King of all that you gave me in command, and he doth protest, that what he hath done, was meerly for your sake, and indeed he is very careful of all your businesse, as if you were here your self; but yet for Gods-sake make what haste you may home for fear of the worst. For the carriage of Captain *Hall*, I will not trouble you, till you come home, only this by the way, that my Lord Treasurer hath it; but upon what terms I know not nor indeed desire you should be troubled with it. Sir *George Goring* came home but this last night, and is gone to the Court, and desires to be excused for writing to you. My Ladie *Hatton*, and my Ladie *Purbeck* came home with him from the Hague.

My Lord of *Arundel* hath not been at Court since the death of his son. I fear the newes, that *Charles Gleman* did shew you was true. For I can assure you *Marquesse Hamilton* was much troubled till I had spoken with him. There be some have done no good offices betwixt you. Pray have a care of the Letter, I mean the man Mr. *Gleman* did shew you, and keep as many friends as you may. I have spoken with no man, but my Lord Keeper who is yours, or not his own as he sweares. And Mr. secretarie *Conway* is yours bodie, and soul; I never heard of the like of him, for he flies at all men, that be not yours. Here is much admiration, that they hear not from you, but I thank God, the King is not troubled at it, for I do assure him, that it is the better, that he heares not from you: for now he may be confident, that you keep your day in comming away, which doth much please him. I will write nothing of my own businesse, though there be nothing done in it, but do hope, that you will not see your Servant perish.

Sir Dudley Carleton to the *Marquesse of Buckingham.*

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If I be too tedious, I pray pardon mee; it is my love that makes me so, and yet I have an humble suite unto you, which is to begg at your hands for patience; for now is the time to shew it or never; for all the eyes of the world are upon you and this is the time to win Honour, and fame; and for Gods-sake carrie the businesse with patience betwixt my Lord of *Bristol*, and you; for here be those that do laugh in their sleeves at you both. I beseech you let me hear from you, what you will command me, for I will do nothing (as near as I can) but what will give content: For you have that power in me, that you need but say, and it is done (if it lie in my power) so shall you ever command

Your faithful, and obedient Servant,  
*London 1. Septemb.* till death,  
1623.

To. Hipsley

Sir Dudley Carleton to the *Marquesse of Buckingham.*

Right Honourable,

BY the dispatch of the fourteenth of this present (which I sent by *Jonson* the Post) I advertised your Honour at large in the two severall Letters of the occurrents of these parts, and therewith sent a copie of my second proposition which I made the day before in the Assemblie of the States General touching the businesse of *Cleves*, and *Juliers* in conformitie to your Honours Letters of the 30<sup>th</sup>. of the last.

The answer thereunto was deferred until yesterday, and then brought me only by word of mouth from the States by *Mounseur Magnus of Zealand*, and *Mounseur Zulestein of Utrecht*, and was to this effect, That the States having sent my former proposition of the third of *December* to their severall provinces, from which this latter did differ in substance, save onely in respect of the time for the restitution of the Townes, which was prolonged for the space of a month, all they could do according to the constitution of their government, was to send this my second proposition likewise unto their provinces, which they had done the day after I made the same, and until they receive more expresse order from their principals, they were to rest upon their former answer. Wherein they declared their  
good

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Marquess of Buckingham.*

good intentions to accommodate this businesse, so it might be with safetie to themselves, and satisfaction of their neighbours. And herein they were to expect the resolution of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, from whom the time did not yet serve, to know his mind. Mean while they humbly beseech his Majestie to make a gracious construction of their proceedings.

I was the day before with Mounseur *Barnet*, (who is President this week) to sollicite their answer, who excused himself upon the smalnesse of their number, many of the States being absent, and of two Provinces all the Deputies: So as to give a determinate resolution according as was required, they could not: And to make answer in general terms, since his Majestie rested not satisfied with the former, he doubted another of the same kind would not please him. So as it seems this Message in place of an answer in writing, proceeded of his Council.

By discourse both with him, and those which came unto me, upon this subject, I find their diffidence of the purpose of the *Spaniard* rather increased then otherwise, upon the news of Levies intended on the Arch-Dukes side, to the number of 9000 foot, and 1000, or 1200 horse; and their delay in taking a determinate resolution, no way dissuaded, but rather counselled by all other Princes, who have interest in this businesse. Their Embassadour at *Paris* having advertised them by reiterated Letters, That *Don Pedro di Sarmientos* his offer to his Majestie touching the execution of the Treatie of *Zanten* is absolutely disavowed by both the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. And this *French* Embassadour *Monsieur du Maurier*, having made it appear unto them, that at *Brussels* they have the same conceit of it, as a thing done without authoritie. Besides, the Princes of the Union have written lately expresse Letters to the States, wherein they perswade them to extraordinarie vigilance upon the *Spaniards*, and particularly in this businesse of *Cleves*, and *Juliers*, the translated Copies of which Letters, I send your Honour herewith. And the Prince of *Brandenburgh* being young himself, and having his Council divided in opinion, doth nothing absolutely without reference to this State, and he when I put them in mind, how they themselves were the authors and framers of the Treatie of *Zanten*, they stick not to say plainly, *Tempora mutantur, et nos*: so as I am daily more and more confirmed in my former opinion, That there is no way left to accommodate this businesse, but by a private agreement between the Princes Pretendents. But *Strickius*, the Agent of *Brandenburgh*, being absent at *Cleves*, I do not hear how this Negotiation proceeds.

Amongst

Amongst the particularities which passed in discourse between *Monsieur Magnus*, and my self, I insisting upon restitution of the Townes, as the meanes to prevent an imminent war upon the quarrel, He asked to whom they should restore them, unless the Princes were agreed, and that they might know, which of the Princes should receive him, and whom they should have for their neighbour. Whereby it appeares, this course will on this side remove all difficulties.

It is advertised hither, by *Monsieur Langrack*, the States Embassadour at *Paris*, that the apprehension they had in the Court, to have this businesse ended without the French Kings intervention, caused *Monsieur de Refuges* to be summoned to make an other journey expressly hither, in regard he had formerly the managing thereof, Notwithstanding that *Monsieur de la Nove* was already named for this extraordinarie Embassage: But *Refuges* excusing himself upon his indisposition, sent all his memorial of what passed, when he was here in the treatie of *Zanten*, with his private opinion upon the whole matter to serve as an instruction to *la Nove*.

By the other Letters of the 28. of this present *Seill No.* *Monsieur Langrack* hath given this State many important advertisements, as first, that he hath obtained of the French King a continuance of the succours of the 3. Regiments of foot, and 2. Troops of horse of that Nation for one year longer, notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanisb, and Arch-Dukes Embassadours, who advised the recalling of them upon occasion of the present troubles in *France*. That there is order given and assignation for 120000 Crownes towards the arrears of their pay. That a resolution is taken in that Court by the advice of the new Councillours, contrarie to the opinion of the old, to prosecute the Princes by war, and maintain the Kings authority henceforward by force. That to this effect the King desires the State should perform their promises of sending towards the river of *Burdiaux* 5. men of war. That he likewise requires of them in conformity of the last treaties betwixt the Crown, and this State, an assistance of men to the number of the French, which are here in service, under some good Commander; But the French themselves, the King will not have, for fear, when they shall come into *France*, of their revolting to the Princes. That he demands free passage through these Countreies down the *Maine*, and the *Rhone* of 3000. Souldiers, with their armes, which are leaved by the Count *John Giacomo Bellio* of a *Italy Land*, and thereabouts, and shipping to transport them into *France*.



*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Marquesse of Buckingham?*

All these particulars were moved unto him (as he writes) by the Marshal de *Aucbre*, to which he adds, That the King is so much incensed against the Duke of *Bouillon*, for seeking to this State for protection, by these Letters whereof I advertised your Honour in my last, that there is a resolution taken to declare him *Criminel de lese Majestee*.

These *Graunter* are so scantie (the continuance of the *French Troops* in the service of the State, being but for a year only, and the payment of them arriving only to the tenth part of what is already due) that they here interpret them to proceed from the *Marshal de Aucbre Pour tenir* (as they say) *le bec en Leon*, and the demands are so large and extravagant, that they are thought *iniquum petere, ut aequum ferant*; Whereby on the one side to keep this State in devotion to the *French King*, and on the other to prevent the like requests of the Princes: for there is small appearance, they will give passage to so many men through their Countries armed, and commanded by an *Italian*, who hath born armes against them, and is married into the Arch Dukes Countrie. And when it comes to question of sending forces of their own thither, it is like they will find as good excuses for that point, as they have hitherto done for the sending of the ships, now three months since promised, and still solicited: For howsoever the chief Persons here have been long particularly interested and ingaged (as your Honour knowes) by neer dependance on this Crown, I find them of late very much alienated in consideration that it is so much governed by Spain, which in the end they apprehended will turn to the ruine of this State.

In *France* they are jealous of this coldnesse, and have of late expostulated the matter with *Monsieur Langrack*, as if they here did incline to the Princes, there being, a bruit raised in *Paris*, that Count *Maurice* would go in Person to their assistance; whereof the Queen Regent was very sensible; but I do not find here, that there was any ground for that report.

Here hath been lately a fame spread, and nourished by such as desire to weaken the correspondence betwixt his Majestie and this State, that his Majestie is in neer terms of matching our Prince with Spain. Which report is now the more credited, by an advise out of Spain from a secret Minister, this State entertaines, under colour of soliciting Merchants causes. That this match hath been there, by order of the King of Spain debated in the inquisition, and judged necessarie in regard it would serve for introduction of Poperie into *England*.

This

This I find to be the *Remora* of my chief affaires with this State, my pressing the restitution of the Townes in *Cleves* and *Juliers* being thought by many of these jealous people to hang on this thread, as a thing very acceptable, and agreeable at this time to the King of Spain, and much advantagious in this present conjuncture to his affaires; and my insisting upon sending of Commissioners to his Majestie in the businesse of our Merchants, they applie the same way, as if the opinion which would be conceived of this Embassage, (howsoever Merchants affaires were pretended, the chief intent was to play *Davus in Comadia*) should according to the use of *Nitimus in Vetitum*, rather kindle, then quench the desire of the Spaniard, and draw the match to a more speedie conclusion.

At my last being with *Monsieur Barneveldt*, I did expostulate the States delay of sending Commissioners to his Majestie upon this occasion, as neither answereth to Sir *Noel Caron's* word and promise to his Majestie, nor to that, which from his mouth, I did advertise your Lordship of the States inclination in general, and the resolution in particular of those of *Holland*. To which he answered me, That with much difficultie and opposition, he had obtained the assent of *Holland*, and that now the matter rested with *Zealand*, but he doubted, that his Majesties restoring the old Company of Merchants, would make a stay of any farther proceeding, as now lesse requisite, howsoever, that Sir *Noel Caron* had advertised, that notwithstanding this change, he thought the sending of Commissioners very necessary.

The Questions here about Religion, rest in the same state as I advertised your Lordship in my last, the Assembly of *Holland* being separated untill the end of *February* *stil. no.* when they are to meet again. Mean while a provisional order is taken, that the *Contra-Remonstrants* shall continue their preaching in our English Church, which they have accommodated with Scaffolds, to make it more capable of their number.

There was much question in this Assemblie, whether his Excellencie should be present, or no: but in the end he was called by the major part of voices, contrary to *Monsieur Barneveldt's* opinion, and his authoritie over-swayed the matter in favour of the *Contra-Remonstrants* for the continuance of their preaching, which it was proposed to hinder by some violent Courses.

By example of this place, there is the like provisional order taken for preaching at the *Brill*, and *Rotterdam*, and certain of the Burghers are established in *Tergow*, who were put from their Trade and Commerce, for their expostulating with the Magistrate upon this quarrel.

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke of Buckingham.*

I have been spoken unto by divers particular persons well affected in this cause, to procure a Letter from his Majestie to his Excellencie, whereby to comfort and encourage him in his Zeal for the maintenance of the true doctrine, and the professours thereof, against these Novellists and their opinions. Which I most humbly refer to his Majesties wisdom, (in case he judge this office necessarie) whether it be fit to be done by Letter or Message, the former of which, will be of greater vertue, but the latter lesse subject to crosse construction of the Arminian faction, which your Honour knowes how potent it is here amongst those who have chief rule in this State. Thus I humbly take leave, ever resting

Your Lordships most faithfully to  
be commanded,

Hague this 24. Febr.  
1616. Stil. Vet.

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke of Buckingham.*

*My most honourable Lord,*

IMmediately upon receipt of your Lordships Letter concerning Sir *John Ogle*, I moved the Prince of *Orange* not onely for his leave for Sir *John* to go into *England*, but likewise for his Letters of recommendation, whereby to give your Lordship subject, upon some such testimonies of his Excellencies good satisfaction, to set him upright in his Majesties favour, both which he granted unto me: though against the first, he alledged the absence of all the *English* Colonels; and touching the latter, he called to mind old matters; which notwithstanding (upon what I undertook for Sir *John's* future intentions) he was content to forget. I did once again upon Sir *John's* instance, put his Excellencie in mind of his dispatch, wherein I found no difficulty. Since I find Sir *John* hath changed his purpose of going, and his excuse will be made at his intreatie by his Excellencie, who hath since let me know, Though he would not deny me his leave, yet he is better content (in regard he is so slenderly accompanied with Colonels, in a time when the State hath need of their service with his stay. So as Sir *John* hath the obligation to your Lordship of a favourable recommendation, and for his not prevailing himself of his leave when it was granted, I must leave to himself to render a reason. For my part, having

having accomplished what I find by your Lordships Letter, to be agreeable both to his Majesties pleasure, & your Lordships, I thought it my dutie to advertize, That there is an ancient difference between Sir *Horacio Vere*, and Sir *Edward Cecil*, about the extent of their Commands; whereupon followeth a great inconveniencie to the dishonor of our Nation, (which as it appears when they were last in the field before *Rees*.) are divided hereby, and march, and lodge in several bodies, and quarters. Much endeavour hath been formerly used in these parts to reconcile them, but all in vain, by reason of some ill Instruments, who wrought upon both their discontents to set them farther asunder. Now, they are both in *England*, and are both written for, to come over; It were a work worthy of your Lordship to make them understand one another better, and what they will not yeeld to of themselves, to over-rule by his Majesties authoritie. I may not conceal from your Lordship, that I am intreated by the Prince of *Orange* himself to do this office, both with his Majestic, and your Lordship, wherein he would not be seen himself, because having dealt between them fruitlessly heretofore, he doubteth of the like successe now. But when their agreement shall be made, he will acknowledge his obligation to your Lordship, and for the better proceeding therein, I sent your Lordship a Copie of an order formerly set down betwixt them, with the translate of Sir *Horacio Vere's* Commission, (both which I had of his Excellencie) and likewise the beginning, and proceeding of their difference, as I have collected the same in brief out of other mens reports.

The projects I sent your Lordship with my last, of a *West-Indian* Companie having been proposed to the States of *Guelderland* for their ratification (who have the leading voice in the Assemblie of the States general, and were ever least forward in that businesse) hath thus far their allowance, that they will concur therein with the rest of the Provinces. But withal I do understand, they have given their Deputies secret charge not to give way thereunto, in case they find it prejudicial to the Truce. Which makes the matter evident, that the project of the Company (though it be never so advanced) will stand or fall, according to the proceeding of the Truce. The expiration whereof approaching so neer, and here being advertisements from *Paris*, that a *French* Gentleman one *Bellavivum* (who was lately employed hither to the Prince of *Orange* about the difference betwixt him, and the Prince of *Conde*) had secret instructions to found the States, how they stood affected to the renewing thereof. I have

used



*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Marquesse of Buckingham.*

used all diligence to know how far he went ; and am well informed, he hath done nothing therein of Consideration : onely this past between him, and his Excellencie.

He telling his Excellencie from *Monsieur Desdiguieres*, and some of the *French Kings* Council, how acceptable the extraordinary Embassage intended from hence will be in that Court and thereupon perswading a speedie imbracing the opportunitie.

From whence (said his Excellencie after his round manner) cometh this alteration ?

To speak plainly (said he) they fear in *France* you will renew the Truce without them, and therefore by your Embassadors, they would interpose themselves.

Here are good advertisements both from *Bruxels* and *Paris*, that the *Spaniards* intent is not to renew the Truce, but to have a Peace proposed with these plausible conditions ; That the King of *Spain* will pretend nothing in the Regiment of these United Provinces, nor require any thing of them in the point of Religion, but leave all in terms as it now stands, with recognition onely of some titular Soveraigntie, which he cannot in honour relinquish.

This is already proposed to *France*, as a glorious work to establish a settled Peace in these parts of the world, but with this condition. That if it be not imbraced here, then *France* shall refuse to give this State any further support, or countenance, of which it is here believed, that *Spain* hath already obtained a firm promise in that Court. And that either the like overture is already made, or will be within few daies to his Majestie.

Under which doth lie hidden many mysteries much to the advantage of the *Spaniard*, and prejudice of this State: for the very proposition of a new Treatie will distract them here very much, in regard of their unsettlednesse, and aptnesse upon any dispute to relapse into faction, besides many Considerations of importance belonging properly to the Constitution of their Government, but the acceptation of the old, by renewing of the Truce upon the former terms, for so many years, more, or lesse, as shall be thought fitting, will (in my poor opinion (which notwithstanding is not slenderly grounded) take place, without much difficultie. The importance of this businesse, hath made me give your Lordship this trouble, and your Lordship may be pleased to let his Majestie understand as well that little as is done by *Monsieur Belleavinn*, as what they here conceive

Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

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conceive to be further intended by the Spaniard. So I most humbly take leave, ever resting

Your Lordships

Hague this 10<sup>th</sup>. of  
June, 1620.

Most faithful servant,

Dudley Carleton.

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Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

Most Honourable,

NOT to give your Lordship the trouble of often Letters, I render an account of his Majesties Commandments by the same hand I usually receive them. One I had lately by an expresse Letter from his Majestie, accompanied with another from your Lordship, touching my Lord of *Buckleigh*, to demand full satisfaction of the States, for all his Lordships pretentions, and to that effect to procure Instructions and Commission to be sent to Sir *Noel Carone* to end this businesse.

To which effect I have moved both his Excellencie and the States, and whilst they were treating thereof, Colonel *Brogue* arrived here out of Scotland: with whom they are now handling to put him to Pension, and to give my Lord the Command of his Regiment in lieu of his Pretensions. Which when they come to calculate, my Lord will find a short reckoning of them, and to send accounts out of their accountants hands, and refer them to others, they will never be moved.

Wherefore if the course they now take can be gone thorough with (which Colonel *Brogue* doth most unwillingly hear of) it will be then in my Lords choice, whether he will remain satisfied, or not. And within few daies I hope to return my Lords Secretarie with advertisement of what is done. Mean time I assure your Lordship nothing is omitted in my endeavours to procure him that, which may be most to his contentment.

In the present condition of publique affaires, your Lordship knoweth well how at this instant we have all *bonne Parolle* out of Spain, and *Cattivi-fatti* of all the rest of the House of *Austria*. In so much as these Low-Countrie Troops under the governance of the Infanta, assist in the blocking up of a poor town, all which remaines of his Majesties.

Majesties only Daughters Jointure in the *Palatinate*. And the Emperour not content with having chased her Husband out of the Empire, in the Proposition of the *Diet* of *Ratisbone*, makes this one Article, to make war upon these Provinces, because (amongst other quarrels) they give refuge to the Prince *Palatine*. Where will this persecution cease? And what place in the world to which they are driven from hence (and is easily guessed in all their extremitie, whether they will be forced to flie) is not subject to the same quarrel? within this week that I now write (betwixt Sunday, and Sunday) we were here in that state, if God had not prevented it, this Countrie had been too hot for them to remain in, and it had been a happinesse for them, if they could have got a poore skeveling boat to have transported them else-where. This Bearer my Nephew will inform your Lordship more particularly thereof.

Now, *de agendis*, there rests no more, then question of maintaining the Army of *Mansfeld*, and *Branswick*, which is lodged at the present in a place, out of which, it can hardly match, and more hardly be removed. If it have pay, and countenance, it may do good service in *Germany*; if not, I will tell your Lordship what I conceive may be the consequence. It will be hedged into *East-Friseland* by *Tillie*, (whose Troops already draw that way) *Cordova* and *Anholt*, against which keeping it self within that Countrie, it will be able to make resistance, as the poore Peasants thereof did heretofore against the *Spanish* Armie, by reason of the difficultie of accessse. From this State it will have all assistance, and though it be kept in by land, it will have the Sea open betwixt *Griest* and *Norden*, (both which places are in *Mansfelds* possession) a Haven fit for a Fleet of Gallions. If by that meanes they, with correspondencie with this State may support themselves, it will be very ill for many important consequences. If they and this State, (which will be forced to run a fortune together) be overcome, much worse; for what can keep the rest of *Europe* from subjection to the *Austriaci*? Wee see how in *Terra firma*, the *Walloons* joyned to *Spaniards*, both make and maintain their Conquests. Joyn the *Hollanders* to them by Sea, they will reap the like service by them. The fruit we have reaped heretofore of the shipping of these Provinces, both for defence in the year 88. and offence in the *Cadiz* journey, sheweth what a strong addition this is to a greater power.

My most honourable Lord, I am so full of such like Speculations, that these have broken out *ex Plenitudine Cordis*, furcharged with grief to see in *Plenitudine temporis*, that to come to effect in the publique

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Ilque affaires which was discovered long since, by the Emperours intercepted letters sent by the *Capuchin* into Spain, and to hear the judgment made every where, that the publique opposition of the Spanish Embassadour (*D'Ognates*) words to the Emperours proceeding *de facto*, is but a parcelinage, with secret understanding to abuse his Majesties goodnesse. Of which it lyeth yet in his Majesties power to vindicate himself; but there is no time to spare. I humbly crave pardon for this libertie of discourse I use with your Lordship, who am

Your Lordships, most humble, and most  
faithful Servant,

Hague, 31. Jan.  
1622.

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

*Most Honourable,*

I Observe in such Letters from the Prince Electour to her Highnesse, with the sight of which, she is pleased sometimes to favour me, a mis-understanding betwixt him, and his Uncle the Duke of *Bavillon*, who groweth wearie of his Guest, doubting least in his Consideration some danger may be drawn upon his Town of *Sedan*; And the jealousy the Prince conceiveth, what may be done with him in case of a Siege; (against which, that is no place to make long resistance) besides the discomforts of living in another mans house, and being ill looked on, makes him wish himself any where else; but chiefly here, where he is as much desired, as missed by her Highnesse, his children, and Familie: And where the Prince of *Orange*, and the States (apprehending very well his present danger, and incommoditie) will give him very willingly his wonted welcome. Your Lordship may be pleased to make thus much known to his Majestie: And if your Lordship can so dispose of the matter, that with his Majesties good liking, he may return hither again, I know nothing your Lordship can do more agreeable to her Highnesse, though she doth wholly submit her affections and desires to his Majesties pleasure.

The wars were never warmer then they are already, and now likely more and more to kindle in these parts: The Siege of *Offend*, by those which were present there and are now in *Berghem*, being esteemed



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esteemed sport in comparifon of the furie is used in difputing the out-works of that Town. Where on Munday laſt in the night an affault was given, and maintained fix hours by the *Spaniards* upon a half Moon kept by the Dutch on the North ſide; out of which they were three ſeveral times repulſed, with the loſſe of betwixt 3. and 400 men of their beſt, and on this ſide under 40. All that they gained being (after the ſame manner as their former attempt on the other ſide wherein Colonel *Hynderſon* was ſlain) to lodge in the foot of the work. Two of our old Captaines, Sir *Michael Everard*, and *Lovellace* (hurt in that, and the like affault given on that ſide within few daies after) are both dead of their wounds within theſe two daies. One at *Dort*, the other at *Rotterdam*, whither they were retired to be cured: which is imputed by the Chyrurgeons to ſome malignity is uſed to the bullets: but that is not to be believed amongſt Chriſtians, yet I have ſeen ſome brought hither ſhot by the Enemy, ſufficient to break all quarter.

We ſhall have now queſtionleſſe many and ſharp encounters in the field; Count *Mansfelt* being on his way hitherwards with his Armie, much weakened during his abode in the Frontiers of *France*; but of ſtrength ſufficient to march through the open Countreies of *Hennault*, and *Brabant*. Which courſe he takes directly with intention to come to *Breda*. And where by computation, he ſhould be by Munday, or Teuſday next at the fartheſt, unleſſe he be overtaken by *Don Gonzales de Cordova*, or met with by the Count *Henric Vandenberg*, or the Marqueſſe *Spinola*, in any of which there is ſmall appearance. *Cordova* going forward at leiſure with 16. peices of Canon, and the 18<sup>th</sup>. of this preſent, when *Mansfelt* paſſed a bridge at *Marpent* over the *Sambre* in *Hennault* (which was the onely paſſage of difficultie, and that as our advertiſements here ſay, he croſſed without reſiſtance) being ſome hours March behind him, who having three field pieces onely, and ſmall ſtore of baggage, and in effect his whole Armie on horſeback, may make great expedition.

If *Vandenberg* ſtir, he will be followed by the Prince of *Orange*. And the Marqueſſe *Spinola* cannot go ſtrong enough to incounter him without raiſing his Siege at *Berghen*, which though he ſhould do, the Campaigne is large enough, and *Mansfelt* lightly laden to take, and leave at pleaſure, it being in his power, (if his way to *Breda* be ſtopped) to fall down towards ſuch places, the State hold in *Flan-*  
*ders*.

The States furniſh him with 6000 *Florins* for the time of three moneths, they entertain him and his Army. In which ſpace, the ſervice

vice they hope to draw from him, is, the raising the Siege of *Berghu*, by cutting off the Convoyes betwixt *Antwerp*, and the Spanish Leaguer, which can no longer continue in the place it now remains, then it can keep the way of *Antwerp* open, by which only their victuals and Munition is conducted.

This time of three moneths expired, there is small appearance of longer entertainment of *Mansfelt* by this State, who doth then purpose to retire to the Duke *Christien* of *Brunswick's* old Quarter at *Lipstadt*: Where they intend to winter their Army, and augment the same against the next Spring, to return again into *Germany*, if the Peace of those parts be not concluded, or some mischance do not happen in the mean time. Which resolution of theirs, for such it is (as I am very well informed) deserves the more to be cherished, by how much the more disrespect is shewed his Majesties Embassadour in the *Palatinate*, by burning and spoyling her Highnesse Joynture even in his view, (as *Don Gonzales* did whilest he remained in those parts) and since besieging his Majesties Garrison *Heidelberg*; before which place, we understand here by Letters of the 14<sup>th</sup>. from *Frankford*, that Baron *Tillie* began his approaches the 12<sup>th</sup>. of this present.

I have not heard what is the issue of Captain *Brett's* businesse, but hope the best. Colonel *Hynderson's* Regiment was given upon the first newes of his death to Sir *Francis Hynderson* by the Prince of *Orange*, with which the States are much displeased, as contrarying their Act. And I have lamented my self to them, as a wrong done my Lord of *Bucklough*, and his Majestie, in his behalf: which they promise me to repair, as they possibly may be able. And I presse them to it by those means which your Lordship will find contained in an abstract of a Letter I wrote lately to his Excellencie, chiefly to this purpose.

Her Highnesse having received a fair Present from the Prince her Brother, doth render his Highnesse thanks by the inclosed. I know not so great a Ladie in the world, nor ever did, (though I have seen many Courts) of such natural affections: An obedient Daughter; A loving Sister; And a tender Wife, whose care of her Husband doth augment with his misfortunes.

Your Lordship cannot therefore shew your care of her more, then by bringing them again together with the soonest. Of which I beseech your Lordship, that with the soonest I may know what hope there is, and that (if your Lordship please) by Mr. *Asbarnham*,

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whose

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

whose return with a favourable dispatch is daily expected. Thus I most humbly take leave,

Your Lordships

Most humble, and most devoted  
Servant,

*Hague 23. August,  
1622.*

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**He general knowledge the Queen of *Bohemia* received from your Grace, by my Nephew, of the disposition of our affairs at home, since his Highnesse, and your Graces return out of *Spain*, upon the true understanding you have bred in his Majestie of the Spanish proceedings, being more particularly both for the state of the matter, and the manner fit to be held here in disposing these men to such overtures as are necessarie, expressed unto me by Sir *George Goring* with special caution of secrecie and celeritie.

I have thought fit to set down at large (whilest it is fresh in my memorie) an opportunite as properly given unto me this day by the Prince of *Orange*, who is the onely person of power and confidence we have here to treat withal) as I hope your Grace will judge it seasonably taken.

And that was an occasion of businesse concerning a mutinie at *Breda*, which drew the Councel of State, (where I have my Seance) to the States general, with whom we found the Prince. That businesse ending in good time, gave him a long hours leisure with me afterwards in his Garden, which he himself desired of me, because somewhat was farther to be digested betwixt us concerning the English Troops, which shewed themselves most in this Mutinie: And hereupon the consideration of the necessity of this State, and impossibility of giving their Troops full contentment, gave us subject of farther discourse, both of the means of better payment they have here at home, and the helps they might conceive from abroad, which

which making appear unto me to be coldest from *England*, as long as our Match with Spain is still in treatie, he asked me bluntly (after his manner), *Quis as'il de vostre Mariage?* I told him, it was now at a stay upon this point, That the restitution of the *Palatinate* must be first concluded. And that the Queen of *Bohemia* was not onely well comforted with this assurance, but pleased her self with a further conceipt, that the opportunity was never fairer for this State to regain the King her Fathers favour, and return to the antient support of his Crownes, which by the way of gratitude for her good usage, since she had her refuge into these parts, she could not but admonish his Excellencie of, and advise him not to let it slip. This he did not so suddenly lay hold of, as not first to cast many misdoubts, as if the alienation were too great, and his Majestie too much wedded in affection, if not in Alliance to new friends, to be so soone reconjoynded to his old, as their necessities did require.

Here I took occasion to play my own Part, and to remember unto him how things had passed within the compasse of my experience from the beginning; letting him know what friendship his Majestie had shewed this State, in the making their *Truce*; what sinceritie in rendring their Cautionarie Townes according to contract, when they were demanded; what affection in supporting their affaires during their late domestique disputes; what care in settling our *East-Indian* differences: finallie, what Patience in conniving at all the misdemeanours, and insolencies of their Sea-men, without seeking revenge.

And hereupon concluded, that I found them here in the same error as men are, which put first from Land to Sea, and believe the Land passes from them, not they from the Land, in that the Alienation, which hath long been nourished betwixt his Majestie and this State, sprang originally from them.

First, by *Barneveldt* and his faction of Arminians carrying the State to new Alliances, with the *Hans-Townes*, and otherwise by themselves, refusing so much as the knowledge of them to my Predecessour in this place, Sir *Ralph Wyndwood*, with much scorn, and contempt.

Next, by a harsh and peremptorie stile, used in all we had then to do with them, favouring rather of Pride and presumption, then any due respect or desire of friendship.

Lastly, by a precipitate course taken at Sea by their ships of war and Merchants against his Majesties Subjects, making prize of some, shouldering others out of their places of trade, and entering in the *East-Indies* into open hostilitie, avowed by a publique Act of the



States General. This ill course begun and pursued for some yeares continuance, breeding a deserved distaste in his Majestie on this side; and on the Spanish part fair overtures of friendship, being continuallie made, and confirmed by the tender of a Match of a potent Prince, None can marvel that his Majestie did imbrace the same, unlesse it should be expected of him, that for love of this State how ill soever deserving, he should lend a deaf eare to all other friendships, that did not concur with the interest of this State. And the remembrance of these things not being so old as to be worn out, they might here very well conceive, that the suspicion of Alienation and disaffection, is as strong on our side for their giving the cause of our leaning another way, as on theirs for the effect which hath since followed. And now the cause is removed, the effect may possibly cease in like manner, if we may have good assurance, that breaking with our new friends upon the occasions now presented, we might fasten after the wonted manner with an old: and the King be satisfied in such doubts, he may upon good reason cast, and know certainly what to trust to. To this conclusion he answered (confessing first their many obligations to his Majestie, both for his favour, and sufferance,) that nothing could be more certain, then the affection of this State to a Prince embracing their cause of opposition to Spain. And if his Majestie could take that resolution, he might dispose of them, their lives and their fortunes. I told him, that more (in a case of this importance, when there was question of alteration of the whole course of a great Princes affaires) would be required then bare professions and protestations, and the rather, because he knew I was not ignorant, how many Billets, and Papers have been heretofore brought hither by \*Madam Serclaes, and others, tending to *Truce*, or peace, and how much such a matter was thirsted after by their Frontier Provinces, which being free for them to take, or leave, after their own humours, it was not likely his Majestie would discharge them of their burthen, to pull it upon his own Shoulders; But to enter into the common cause of defence, and add a powerful hand in supporting them, might be faisable, in the present conjuncture, upon good assurance, he should never be left single in the quarrel. Whereunto he answered, that true it was, the woman I named, and divers others, had been tampering heretofore about such Treaties, & that he had continually put their Papers into his Pocket; and so suppressed (them with consent of some of the States, of whom he was most confident) lest such propositions, being brought into their publique Assemblies, might have driven them into distraction, and

An old Popish Gentlewoman of this towne, who by possession on both sides strove so often to and fro betwixt this and Bruxells, (where she hath private access to the Infanta) that she is known by the title of la Maquerelle de la Trefuer.

and dispute one with another according to their severall affections, either to Peace, or War, and thereby slacken their Contributions, wherewith they pay their Army, and by consequence expose them to the mercie of the enemy.

And that this course of his being finally discovered by the Merquesse *Spinola*, and *Peekins*, their purpose now was (as he is privately advertized from *Bruxels*) to steal over some person hither by the usual meanes of Passe-ports for Merchants and Travailleurs, to make some such like Proposition at the severall Assemblies of the States of these united Provinces: which it should be his studie to prevent, because of the mischief may be bred thereby amongst them; And this he assured me for conclusion, That as their affections and affairs now stand, nothing but despair can bring these Provinces to Peace, or Truce with *Spain*.

To this I yielded, but said, That was not enough because of such changes, to which the world was daily subject. Neither did Queen *Elizabeth* undertake their protection upon such bare presumptions, wherefore some further assurance must be thought on; which he consented unto, as a thing requisite on both sides, and joyned issue with me in this point, That when the King would be to this State, as Queen *Elizabeth* was; this State would be to him, as it was to Queen *Elizabeth*.

This being *opus animi divi*, not unlike the first day of the Creation of the world in distinguishing light and darknesse, I will give your Grace this further light, of what belongs to negotiation with this State.

The present opportunitie of the Prince of *Orange's* good affection and strength of these Provinces both by Sea and Land, as it yet stands, (but not possible so long to continue) being seasonably laid hold of, his Majestie may have with this State a firm and fruitful alliance.

But if the Prince of *Orange* should die, (as he is much broken, and the last year at this time, we did not think he could live till *May*) or the enemy break into the borders of this State, (as this last Summer, if the *Imperialists* had joyned with the *Spaniards*, they had undoubtedly done; and unlesse some Change or Alteration happen, as is feared will do this next year) the best link we have for a bond of friendship would fail, and as much difference be betwixt this State, as it now is, and what it is like to be upon any such ill accident, (as

was

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

was now feared, and still hangs over them) as betwixt a strong Staffe, and a broken Reed. So I cease to give your Grace any further trouble.

Your Graces

Hague, 9. Decemb.  
1623.

Most humble, and most  
faithful servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**W**Hat Comfort and Contentment the Queen of *Bohemia* receives in your Graces Message and Letter by my Nephew, I leave to her own expression, which never failes her, when her heart goeth with her hand, as I can assure your Grace, it doth in this subject. And this I will say more, who can say nothing but truth, I never knew your Grace ill with this good and gracious Princessse; but now you are so well settled in her good opinion and favour, that I know none hath more interest therein.

And this use your Grace may make thereof to his Majesties service, that now this King and Queen are both of them no lesse confident of your affection, then they are of your sinceritie; what you advise them in their affairs will be of much weight to sway them in the balance of their judgment.

Which now a Proposition is made unto them, on which their whole estate doth depend as well for themselves, as their posteritie, full of doubtful circumstances on both sides, (the choice not being, as they conceive, betwixt one thing certain, and another uncertain; but betwixt two unequal uncertainties) it is hard to say which way they incline: but if they be left to themselves, I perceive they will rather stand to the hazard of the latter, with preservation of their honour and lawful pretensions, then submit themselves to the former with shame and disgrace, and no assurance of better dealing then was used to the deposed House of *Saxe*, by a better Emperour then this

this accounted, of which we have the Heir (one of the worthiest Princes in *Germanie*) here in hard Conditions amongst us. And he serves as a Spectacle to these Princes of their fortunes by the same way as his Predecessors took, of submission. Yet other things being before agreed of, and settled in that sort as his Majestie hath alwaies assured these Princes to be his full intention of restitution to their Patrimonial Honours and estate; This King I find will conform himself, to what his Majestie shall think fit, touching a due submission.

But this being a matter of ceremony, the other of substance, he judgeth, that if this preceede, (that is, the Submission) the other of restitution will never follow. Neither can it be well seen, how in possibility it may be effected, considering that (whilest things have been held sometimes in terms, alwaies in talk of accommodation) the Electoral is given to *Bavaria* by the Emperour, and avowed by a Congratulatory Embassage from *Bruxels*: the upper *Palatinate* settled in his possession, with some portion to *Newburgh* for his Contentation, and ingagement. A principal part of the lower *Palatinate* (the *Bergstrats*) given to the Elector of *Mentz*, with the consent of those of *Bruxels*, (where he was lately in person to obtain it) though they grossely dissemble it, and promises of parts of the rest made to other Princes.

So as what is now pretended (I must deal plainly with your Grace) is no otherwaies interpreted, then as experience doth teach of these three former years proceedings: Ever new Overtures in Winter, and new Ruptures in the Summer. And as of two former Treaties with this Prince, which passed my hands, (one a Consent to a Submission sent to *Vienna*, the other a Ratification of a Suspension oftentimes sent to *Bruxels*) no other use was made, but with the first to accelerate *Bathlem Gabor* in his Treatie of Peace with the Emperour as then on foot, and with the second to intimidate both the Electours *Saxe*, and *Brandenburgh*, with the Princes of the *Nether*, *Saxe*, and *Creyes* from entering into Armes, to which they were well disposed, upon the discontentment they received of the preposterous courses that were taken in the Diet at *Ratisbon*; (and to this effect Copies of the very projects of the said Treaties were dispersed by the *Imperialists*, before the Instruments themselves were perfected,) so it is here believed, that now *Gabor* is again in armes, and other Princes ready to imbrace any good occasion of redresse of affaires, time is onely sought to be gained by this new Overture, and the King of *Bohemia's* Credit, with his friends and well wishers in *Germanie* to be weakened,



weakned, if not lost; for if once he submit himself allowing the translation of the Electoral, he shall thereby avow the Emperours undue proceedings in that cause (which have been protested against by *Saxe*, and *Brandenbergh*, and all the other *Germane* Princes, excepting those onely of the Catholique league) and by whom afterwards upon any ill dealing can be expect to be befriended, who forsakes himself and his own cause? This is the discourse of these Princes upon this occasion; but when they are asked, What then can you trust unto? their recourse is to his Majestie, who they hope knoweth the meanes to effect in their behalf, what he hath so long, and so constantly undertaken for them. And though for these three or four years past, affaires on this side have gone in a continual decadence, and now threaten a final ruine, unless it be withstood by some Princelie Resolution; (not of petteie, but of great Princes) yet here is no such discouragement: but that it is thought there is yet strength and vigour enough left in the good Party, not onely to subsist, but to rise and flourish again as well as ever. And in this cogitation the King and Queen remain, not prescribing any thing to his Majestie, nor willing to submit themselves anew to the same rod, with which they have been so often scourged.

Your Grace was lately invited with my Lord of *Richmond* to christen their young Son, which being excused by my Lord of *Richmond* in both your names, And the King of *France* undertaking that office, it was performed by that King, and the King of *Swede* yesterday was seven-night (represented by the *French* Embassadour here resident, and the Prince of *Orange*) in the same manner, and the same Church, as the Princessse *Louise*, bearing the same name, was christned the last year: when the Duke *Christien* of *Brunswick* being invited to be Godfather, though absent, and for some respects of precedence could not have a Deputie, was understood notwithstanding to be one of the *Parrins*; and so do the King and Queen hold both your Grace, and my Lord of *Richmond*.

I must now render your Grace my humble thanks for your manifestation of your favour to my self, which you are pleased to do in such ample manner, as to tell me farther for my Comfort who are my friends; And a farther effect of friendship, I could not expect of them, then to procure me the assurance I now receive from your Grace, who have won the reputation by your Constancie to those you take into your Care, that your word is taken for your deed. And though that, which I thought fittest for my self failes me, if your Grace can think me fit for any thing else towards the amendment of

my

Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

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my poor fortune, I shall attend the same with much patience of mind, though great extremitie otherwise, by reason of a small estate charged with great debts, (which are no small burthen to an honest mind,) And ever remain

Your Graces

Hague, 13<sup>th</sup>. Decemb.  
1623.

Most faithfull devoted  
servant,

Dudley Carleton,

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Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

*May it please your Grace,*

THE Queen of *Bohemia* desirous to draw the Prince of *Orange* to more then general professions of service to his Majestie, hath sometimes in my presence, when I waited on her highnesse, given occasion of discourse her self, and at other times I have spoken in her name with his Excellencie to the like effect, as in my former Letter to your Grace: which caused his Excellencie to take three of the States, such of whom he is most confident (one of *Guelderland*, another of *Holland*, the third of *Zealand*) unto him, to strengthen himself by their concurrence in that, which is his own inclination, of carrying this State to a strict alliance with his Majestie, in which he told them, That first their minds must be known, and next such assurance thought of, as not onely must give his Majestie present Contentment, but likewise free him from all misdoubt for the future, that either upon offers from *Spain* to these Provinces, or any sinister accidents of War, they should be induced to make Peace or Truce without his Majesties consent.

Whereunto they answered him, (as I have it from himself this day) That nothing could be more agreeable to their affections, and Interests in all respects, then to be under his Majesties protection: And for assurance of their remaining constant to that course, they doubted not, but when the matter should be treated of, the Provinces would willingly condescend to what should be necessary to that purpose.

His Excellencie in relation hereof unto me went so much further, as to instance in their new resolution here, now finally put in pra-

X x

Grace

## Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

Stice of making Voyages into the *West-Indies* after the same form, as they have done into the *East*; both which joyned together, make them irreconcilable with Spain. Yet if his Majestie will have a further tye on them, they will not refuse it; but he saith, The States will expect that such obligation be mutual, and that they in like manner may rest assured, when they put themselves wholly under his Majesties wings, his Majestie will not flie from them, and make his peace without them.

I told him the case was not equal betwixt his Majestie, and them, they being actually in War, his Majestie in Peace: so as to come to a conjunction, his Majestie must change condition, not they, and therefore hath the more reason to look before he leap out of Peace into War. And so did *Queen Elizabeth*, who had raigned 27 years before she openly took upon her the protection of these Countries; but after continued her War in their Cause to her dying day. This he confessed, but remembred withal, That there was a Treatie of *Burburck*, with which the States were much startled, and he thought that when this businesse should be more particularly scanned amongst them, as they would willingly give, so they would expect to receive good assurance.

In this point of declaration of their affection, and willingnesse to warrant his Majestie sufficiently, I asked him, How far I might go not to be disavowed: so as if his Majestie should take any suddain resolution, according as affaires require, he might confidently build upon the concurrence of this State. He answered me, That a resolution in this kind would require a further proceeding, then was fit, untill his Majestie would be content to make his mind known, by such private means as might seem best to his own wisdom, and then according to his own liking, they would enlarge this matter here, to more mens knowledge, then the small circle, in which it hitherto walked, and guide it in that manner as may be fit for the form of it to his Majesties honour, and for the substance to his full contentment. Which he offered to do now if I would presse him to it; but withal told me his opinion, that it would raise nothing but bruit and noise without effect, when we had here no better ground to work upon, and therefore wished the businesse might expect a return from his Majestie, if he could be content it should be proceeded in. In these terms remains this businesse, not free from many Cautions, and nice Circumstances; and yet on this side, (I can assure your Grace) full of good affection; but these are the true reasons of their coming on no faster. They hold it for a maxime, That *Spain* will never match with his

his Majestie for love, but either for hope, or fear. If *Spain* can entertain hope of reducing these Provinces to obedience by the Match, or fear, that unlesse the Match proceed, his Majestie will joyn with these Provinces in opposition to *Spain*: They hold in either of these Cases the Match as made. And therefore lest some use should be made of their presentations of themselves, to their own prejudice, they are thus shie, and circumspect. Besides, as they have had some help of money out of *France* this last year, so they are entertained with hopes of more against the next: which they fear would be excused upon any offer they should make of themselves towards his Majestie, and therefore are loath to adventure the exchange of a substance, for that which appears unto them hitherto, no better then a shadow; And they are indeed very umbragious; for they suspect, that Tentatives of this kind, of which some have been made heretofore amongst them, tend to no other end, then to endear our Merchandize with *Spain*, and let the Ministers of that Crown know, that we refuse in their Contemplation. But when his Majestie shall resolve in his own heart, and be pleased to make himself so understood, it will be no hard matter by his Excellencies means (who is a Prince full of good intentions and real affections to his Majestie, and his royal Family) to make these men lay by their Jealousies, and be as true to his Majestie, and the support of his Crowns, as his own Kingdomes. Which is no more then they owe for the protection which these that are now in Government had of his Majestie, when they were lately sinking under the burthen of a contrary faction; and no more then upon a good knowledge of their Interests and affections I can undertake for them, they will really and readily pay, if the matter be well managed. In which the confidence and freedom I have used with this Noble Gentleman, *Sir George Goring*, may give your Grace some further light, as any doubts shall arise concerning the businesse. So I most humbly take leave,

Your Graces

*Hague*, 18. Decemb.  
1623.

Most humble, and most  
faithful servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*



## Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**He businesse of strict conjunction betwixt his Majestie, and this State (touching which the Queen of *Bohemia* hath received his Highnesse, and your Graces Letters, and I your Graces of the 9<sup>th</sup>. of this present) goeth on the right foot (according as your Grace will see more particularly by my Letters to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, and as the matter is here imbraced with much affection, so for the manner I doubt not but it will be well ordered in that sort, as will be for his Majesties honour, and contentment. But in regard of jealousies towards us, and emulations amongst these men in matters of imployment, (to which all men are subject, especially in good and advantagious businesses, some time, will be required, to set all in the right way, yet no illimited time; for I hope within a week all will be resolved of, and within a few dayes more, put in execution fullie to expectation. Sir *Noel Caron* writes, a league offensive and defensive will be imbraced by his Majestie, if it be proposed from hence, with offer of assurance; And I assure my self both the overture, and offer will be made and reallie effected, if it be answered on our side with good correspondence. That which busieth my cogitations is, that *tempus agendi* may be lost *Consultando*; and therefore seeing how both his Majestie, and this State stand affected, I will take the libertie to give your Grace two advertisementes in matters of action, which will be of exceeding fruit, if they be thought of in time, and for which there is no time to spare.

One is, that your Grace doth inquire after in your Letter to the Queen of *Bohemia* (who excuseth writing either to his Highnesse, or your Grace till the States have resolved of their sending) that is the States preparation for the *West-Indies*, which way, the companie for those parts newlie erected in these, hath set out one Fleet of 32. Sayl now alreadie at Sea, with some Land men amongst them, to put on ground and fortifie as they shall find occasion; for which they have men for the purpose, and all materials readie imbarqued with them.

A second Fleet they are now preparing against April next, about which all their Admiralties and some of the Deputies of this new *West-Indian* Companie are here at this present. And the design is, for the Admiralties to set out at the charge of the generalitie twelve good ships of war, besides they have alreadie on the coast of Spain and in the narrow Seas, which they will still continue.

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To these 12. ships they require the *West-Indian* Companie to joyn 12. more, which will make a good Fleet, and this they intend shall be readie (as I sayd) in April next, to attend the coming of the Spanish *West-Indian* Fleet, which here they understand is put into the *Havana*, with intention there to winter as it did the last year.

Now if his Majestie will give leave to his subjects to erect a Companie for the *West-Indies*, and joyn with these men in those Parts, as they do in the East, (and upon more equal conditions, since the businesse is but now in the beginning) it will be here gladlie imbraced. And if he will frame a Fleet betwixt his own ships and his Merchants to joyn with the States Fleet prepared for April next to intercept the Spanish *West-Indian* Fleet, nothing more will be desired by these men, and there is nothing of which for the present they promise themselves greater fruit: for either they hope to take, or to stop the silver of those parts (both which are good services, considering the need of mony, the Spaniards have in these), or else they resolve with the ships which belong to the companie to pursue their voyage of the *West-Indies*.

The second is a Truce with the *Pyrates* of *Algier*, such an one as this State hath made in conformitie to their peace with the Grand Seignieur, which will be no more observed for unmolesting all, and every one of our Merchants ships as they are straglingly lighted on, then it is with these men, who suffer many losses in particular; but those are recompensed in the General. For the Spaniards are much amazed with this correspondence; And the men of War of this State, or such Merchants, as can make any reasonable defence are most medled withal. Besides, in any matter of offence they concur together; And even now a proposition is made from *Algier* to the Prince of *Orange*, (which I have from his own mouth to acquaint your Grace therewith) that in case this State against the beginning of next sommer will set out twenty Sayl of ships upon any good service against the Spaniards, they will joyn unto them 60. Sayl to pursue the design, whatsoever it shall be of this State. The acceptation of which offer being now in deliberation, it will be suspended till it be seen, how this unexpected businesse with his Majestie may proceed; And then they will here do nothing but that, as may concur with our common Interests. But because the negotiation of this matter with those of *Algier* (that is a Truce betwixt his Majesties subjects, and those men) will require time, your Grace may provisionallie move his Majestie (if the matter be well liked) to use such en-

devours

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

deavours as may conduce thereunto. Here they use to write, and send through *France* by *Marseilles* to the Consul they have continually at *Alger*, by whose meanes (if no better present it self) any thing may be proposed, his Majesty shall find fitting.

Other things, I will within few daies remonstrate to your Grace for his Majesties service in this change of affaires, which require all possible industries, and diligences to be used both far and neer; And those not neglected, I doubt not, but they who have so grossely abused his Majesties friendship, will soone repent themselves, and by their harmes see their own errors. Thus I most humbly take leave;

Your Graces

Most humble, and most faithful  
Servant,

*Hague* 24. January,  
1625.

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

According as I advertised your Grace the 24. of the last of the disposition of the Prince of *Orange*, and such of the States, as he called unto him to Council, they procured the rest soone after to resolve of an Embassage to his Majestie, and now they have dispatched the same with as much expedition, as could possibly be used. The Persons are *Aersens* of *Holland*, and *Jonchim* of *Zealand*, both able, and well affected Persons, and both sufficiently known to his Majestie by former imployments. They go amply authorized for what they shall treat: but that as yet is an Embrion onely which must receive form, and life from his Majestie, in whose hands it lyeth to preserve this State, and dispose for ever of the whole strength thereof for his own service, and his royal Families. Which after more debates, and distasts, then have passed with all the world besides, I am glad I can say upon good warrantize: whereof this is one proof, that when his Majestie is constrained by the necessity of affaires to send and seek to his other friends, he is sent and sought, and sued to from hence. I doubt not but it will be objected (as hath been formerly) that it is for their own Interest, and that they would gladly ingage his

his Majestie in their quarrel; which it were a follie to deny: but there is alwaies the friendship strongest when the interests are most conjoyned. And if that which is principally for one mans benefit, turn likewise to another mans advantage, *Hoc non facere* (saith an old School-book) *summa est imprudentia.*

The affairs of these parts for matter of Action (which have been more then ordinarily succeeds in this cold season, but have been more coldly pursued then was feared) I refer to this Bearer my Nephew's report, who having the honour to be his Majesties servant, I imploy him the more willingly, as able to give Account of such particularities, either of this Negotiation, or otherwise, of which his Majestie, and your Grace may require knowledge. And I humbly beseech your Grace to give him encouragement by your accustomed noble favour.

So rests

Your Graces

Hague, 16. February,  
1625.

Most humble, and most devoted servant,

Dudley Carleton.

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Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

May it please your Grace,

I were a sin against the publique service, in which your Grace doth imploy your self so much to the common good, and your own honour, to molest you with Letters in this busie time: which must serve me for excuse of silence, since the beginning of the Parliament. What I write now is by Commandment of the Queen of Bohemia concerning this Bearer Captain Gifford an old Seaman of our Nation, who having a private suite to the States, hath made a journey over hither with recommendation to me from our two Secretaries for advancement thereof, but with a further purpose to be imployed by the Queen against the Spaniard in a matter of no lesse moment, then taking of a Gallion, which usually bringeth the treasure over the Gulph of Mexico, from *Nova Spagua* to the *Havana*. Which he designs after this manner: To go out with two Ships and a Pin-

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## Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

nace, onely fitted for fight, without more in number, because of the Alarm would be taken at a greater Fleet, and to lie under Cover of a small Island in the entrie of the Gulph of *Mexico*: where the Gallion coming usually alone, unlesse it be accompanied with some Merchants ships, which he sets light by, and which incumbered with goods and Passengers, he think may be mastered, and taken, building upon the securitie in which that Gallion, with the rest of that *Nova Spagua* Fleet, do sayl scattering in the *Gulph*, till they meet with the Fleet of *Terra Firma* at the *Havana*, where he having been heretofore a prisoner made this observation, and doth now offer himself to put the design in execution, with a demand of betwixt 10000 and a 11000*l.* for the whole equipage.

The Queen in recompence of his good will returns him with this addresse to your Grace as a man fit for employment, for so he is generally reputed; but for the particularitie of the Exploit, she doth not entertain any thought thereof, but refers it wholly to your Graces Consideration, and to the opportunitie according as affaires shall succeed betwixt his Majestie, and *Spain*.

Here are come Letters from some of the King and Queens servants on that side, and one to my self from a private friend, advertizing, That there is a readinesse in divers of his Majesties Subjects of good abilities, to put to Sea with Letters of Mart in the name of this King and Queen against the *Spaniard*, and of a likelihood, that if such Commissions were given by these Princes, they would not be ill understood by his Majestie.

Mounseur *Aersens* hath likewise written hither in a private Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, that he hath been spoken with to move the States to increase the number, he and his Colleague have mentioned of 10 or 12 Ships to joyn in any good occasion with his Majesties Fleet to 20: And that the purpose is to set out 50 sayl on that side, and that both shall go under the name of the King and Queen of *Bohemia*. Wherein though the motion be not directly made, yet the Prince of *Orange* hath discoursed enough, that when it shall come to issue, they will stretch themselves to furnish to the full what is required on this side. In both these businesses, as well the granting Letters of Mart by these Princes, as their lending their names to any greater Action, they intend to govern themselves onely as they shall understand to concur with his Majesties pleasure, and therefore, hope they shall receive advice from his Highnesse, and your Grace, what is fit for them to contribute to such occasions as they

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

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they see much to their Comforts, you advance with so great care and vigilance. Thus I most humbly take leave,

*Hague* 16. April,  
1624.

Your Graces most humble, and  
most devoted Servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

Such Commandments as I received from your Grace by double Dispatches of the 4<sup>th</sup>. of the last, by way of provision whilst Sir William Saintleiger lay sick, were prevented by his own presence. He bringing the first of those Packets with him, and thereby had Commoditie to assist at the breaking of the businesse to the States, by virtue of his Majesties Credence given him, and my Lord General Cecil: which since, he hath sollicitated both at the Camp, and in this place with all possible care and industrie, and I have not failed of my utmost endeavours.

But the unsettlednesse of this Government, which still continueth since the late change of Governours, hath bred delay to some, and direct impediments to other points we had in charge: which we have endeavoured to supply by other means. And now in what state he leaves the whole businesse, he will relate to your Grace. Such Patents as your Grace required from the King and Queen of Bohemia, I have committed to his delivery in divers forms, with a Blank signed and sealed, wherein to frame such an one as may be better to your minds: But if your Grace make no use of it, you may please to return it to me again, to the end I may restore it.

What concerns my self, I absolutely remit and submit to your Grace; onely I will renew the request I made to your Grace by my Nephew, That your Grace will not prefer any before me in your formerly intended favour, out of belief, that any can be more, then I resolve to rest whilst I live *a totius Espreves*,

Humbly and faithfully devoted to your  
Graces person and service,

*Hague*, 20. June,  
1625.

*Dudley Carleton.*

Sir

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## Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

*May it please your Grace,*

**A**fter long attendance the wind is come good for *Plymouth*, which I hope will carry thither speedily and safely the States whole Fleet, though in 3. parts; 12 Ships with the Admiral *de Nassau*, who hath long waited in the *Tessel*; 4 but newly ready provided by those of *Zealand* at *Amsterdam*, and 4 which have layen sometimes before the *Brill*; whereof one is to land the *Marshal Chatillion* in passing by *Calice*; the other three to Convoy the English men: And Armes I send in 10. other Ships I have hired at *Rotterdam*: before which place they have layen 20 daies a Shipboard, by reason of contrary winds, with some impatiencie, but no disorder: which what course I took to prevent, as likewise what may happen in their Voyage, my Lord *Conway* (to whom I give a particular account of all) will inform your Grace.

I have obtained leave for Sir *John Prond* to go the Voyage according to his Majesties Letter, though it was somewhat stood upon by the States, and he hath taken his passage by *Zealand*.

When I call to mind, what Patents I procured of the King of *Bohemia*, and sent your Grace by Sir *William Saint Lieger*, (amongst which was one of submission to any accommodation his Majestie shall at any time like well of for the King of *Bohemia*) I think it necessary to advertize your Grace, that knowledge being come hither of the *Infanta's* sending the Count *Shomburgh* to the King of *Denmark* with a fair Message, and the Count *Gondomar's* overtures to Mr. *Trumbal* tending to reconciliation, and restitution of the *Palatinate*, it is so willingly hearkned unto by the King of *Bohemia*, that there is no doubt of his Consent: but withal he well considers, that if Treatie alone be trusted unto, and thereupon Armes now leaved by his Majestie, and his Friends belaid aside, all will prove as fruitlesse as formerly. For howsoever the King of *Spain* (for more free prosecution of other quarrels, or designs) may be induced to quit what he possesseth in the *Palatinate*, the shares, the Emperour, the Duke of *Bavie*, and the two Electours *Majentz*, and *Trevers*, with a great rabble of Popish Priests and Jesuites have therein, will require more then bare negotiation, to wring it out of their hands; and nothing but Victorie, or at least a well armed Treatie can serve that turn.

The

The time seems long both to the King and Queen, and growes very irksome every day more then other of their abode here in this place: which indeed doth proye in all respects very uncomfortable; and that your Grace will gather out of Mr. Secretarie *Morton's* report, and my Letters to my Lord *Conway*. In this very Consideration, I beseech your Grace be the more mindful of

Your Graces

*Hague*, 20<sup>th</sup>. of  
*August*, 1625.

Most humble, and most  
devoted servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

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*FINIS.*

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St. Paul's Church in New York

The enclosed is a copy of the book and of the  
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Most humble and most  
devoted servant

David Collins

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1712

*A further Continuance of the Grand Politick Informer, Discovering the wickednesse and mysteries of the present State iniquities on foot about the 14 of September 1653.*

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OMNIUM RERUM VICESITUDO.

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October 31 1653

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**T**He last sheet we gave you a hint of the designe and intent of some of the poorer wretches, as are very industrious in making a Knife to cut their own throats; we mean in the altering the government of the City of London: But first for their encouragement, let them consider, that *Cromwel* maketh use but of one sort of people to do one thing and so soon as that is done he laieth aside them, and maketh use of another generation: As first against the Scots, he made some instrumental, to crosse their interest in the Presbyterians. So soon as they had finished, he layeth them aside: then he made use of some of the late Parliament, to take off the late Kings head; these also he layeth aside, as you see in the late Dissolving the Parliament, judging he hath good reason so to do (though he maketh use of but one sort of men to commit one sort of Treason) for he knoweth that he that is a Traytor to another trust will be a Traytor to his trust that he reposeth in him. If he should entertain him long in his service would be still expecting favors: but to prevent this he after they have sweetened their mouths a little he turneth them off and pretendeth insufficiency; or that they are not holy enough, or some other thing: now by this means he strengtheneth his interest, for whilst that they are in employment they gain riches, and he winketh at them; so when he turneth them out of employment, they must stil be owners of him and his Tyranny, for in any other change (think they) our estates cannot be secure, because we have gained them by indirect means; and there is no way like to the taking of Sanctuary under the power of a Tyrant, that is guilty of betraying of trust, usurping the supream power, who will be ready to say if they will not question me for my Treasons, I will not question them for their Villanies: No further then, for losse of place to make  
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way for other new Traytors to act their parts on the stage: now we see what a miserable thing it is for men so readily to contribute their helps or assistance to raise a Tyrant; but it is in hope, that they may rise in the top of his favor, and be raised with him; we hear could tell you many a story, how God doth bring down Tyrants, when they are most strong *they become weak, &c.* But as to the changing the government of the City of London, its very strongly aggitated, that some clothed in red, not Saints clothed in white; Saints should govern the City instead of Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councel men, this is set on foot and contrived by some of the City, who have taken the Oath of the City upon their making free; the substance was *that they should do nothing that should be for the hurt of the City of London*; but it may be they say, that they did take that Oath with a proviso (*viz.*) if in case there came not commands to the contrary from the Cock-pit, we have too many ----- think the creatures of Cromwell's favour to be sufficient dispensations to all Oathes and Villanies that can be committed: but he that hath but half an eye might see that, the changing of the government, and the seizing of the guards of the City of London was designed when they took away the chains from the ends of the streets, and threw down the forts; so when they were thus disarmed, they put garrisons upon them by and under pretence of preventing malignant designs; but under pretences of that and of the pretending to promote the work of the Lord, and securing the interest of the Lords people; they (*viz.*) the Lord Cromwell's interest and people; they have devoured all our wealth and liberties: but now the designe they drive at, in endeavouring to alter the government of the City of London, is to take away all the rights or as much as they can of Election in the people; for say they, if the government of the City of London should be continued by the election of the people, they may elect such as we may not stand well assured of complying with us in our Treasons, and we know that the City of London is able to question us, and drive our Army into the sea, or swallow them up at a mouthfull; therefore it is convenient that we (say they) should take from them all means possible of their unloosing their bonds, the which if they do, we must be bound: Besides (say they) if we can binde the hands of the City of London, we shall lead the whole Nation into Captivity, and to that end

end, is a great part of the Army come into the City, and upon their march towards London to chuse a Lord Mayor it may be; We see that saying of *Aratus* to *Philip* of *Macedon* made good in our age; *That Tyrants, Thieves and Robbers make use of Arms, Rocks, and Forts, and decree it*; There is nothing as *Papprius Mafson* saith, so sacred, which the great Tyrants of this world will not violate if some advantage may come unto them thereby. You see it and finde it to be true, that London that hath been the fountain and cause of the greatnesse of the Tyrants, now must disrobe her self of her most excellent government, that she hath kept unviolated many hundred years; but if this were all we are in such a condition, that we should account it an happinesse to be onely slaves and no more; but we must be miserable slaves: There is another designe on foot for wickednesse in the highth, the like was never conspired nor acted by any; nay it would make the worst in Hell ashamed, nay we are perswaded it would make the Devil himself blush, and yet some of our Saints or white Devils have that horrid, damnable, and wicked impudence to designe that the Records of the Nation should be burned; in this they have many ends: First, that all that hold any Houses or Land by what little soever, when the Records of the Nation are burned, it shall be much at the discretion of the Judge to award judgment either to the Plaintiffe or Defendant which so ever of them is most a Saint alies an Hypocrite (God forbid that we should speak or open our mouths against the good people of God, they we say, that professe to the love it, and that do not make use of pretences to carry on base wicked designes) for you must assure your selves that they will provide Judges that shall be Conscience proof, and that will encline much in their judgments to favour those that favour the times: besides this is the onely way that these Israelites will come by the goods and lands of the Egyptians at advantage. *John* of *Leyden* required his impostors and followers to seize of all the goods of the wicked, by open force; but these are bringing of it home more covertly and obscurely by these pretences, viz. To prevent further contests and quarrels by suits of Law: but if this be brought about, you shall have little cause to go to law, for you shall have nothing to defend by it. Besides, he that doth hold any thing must hold and enjoy it upon their terms, that he must live and take the present Tyrants orders for better for worse; besides these will keep the people more to depend upon the favour of the Tyrants, for then



then they will see it to be a thing of necessity to comply, for they see that upon the least distaste (and they will not be wanting to take occasion as oft as may) to turn them out of their estates: likewise this of the burning of the Records is a good designe for those that have bad Titles to the Houses and Land they hold and to those that would cheat Orphants, but the body of the design is this, that *Magna Charta* may be no more pleaded, nor the Petition of Right; neither shall the people have the least remain, to put them in minde of their antient Liberty; [and the people may account it a favour to live] and if they will have their causes pleaded, it must be by friends, or else suffer you must. A third designe is that all Societies and meetings shall be prohibited under a pretence of preventing of carrying on of plots and designes: and to that end throw down Plays and Bear baiting, and all other pastimes; we doe not here argue for Plays, we onely show what is designed when they pretend reformation. Next they must prevent Fairs and Markets, meetings to Hunt and Hawk; what a sad condition have these men brought themselves too? The Tyrant himself that maketh us all slaves is but a slave himself: for he cannot nor dare to go without his guards, he is afraid of his own shaddow, when it is his guilty conscience that puteth him in fear, he calleth about him stronger guards, and crieth a plot to colour all: *Pliny* the songes in his *Janegyr* to *Trajan*, sayes that wicked princes makes Arms their sanctuary, but good Princes make the affections of their people to be their sanctuary. This design of preventing meeting hath already taken in *Ireland*, this was one of the parts that the Tyrant *Dyonisius* acted to secure himself in his abominable tyranny, he would not permit the *Syracutians* to meet in friendly and familiar meetings, thereby the better to prevent the knowing one anothers mindes; for saith he, if they know not one anothers minde, they cannot so redily put in execution any thing that may be hurtfull to the Tyranny! What a lamentable thing is it, that men should bring themselves into such a condition, to fear their shaddow. Another designe's on foot, is that under pretence of preventing of the disarming of the royal party: it is intended to disarm all the good people of *England*, that they may not be in a capacity to resist the intended tyranny. [Do but remember what freedome you enjoyed (under the Kingly power accompted by our Tyrants).

rants to meet in Arms, and other friendly meetings] We shall presse it onwards in answer to a Letter pretended to be sent to Mr. *John Lilburn*, where in generall is observed nothing but weaknesse and madnesse. We find this person that entereth the Lists in this Letter, to be but of a mungril breed: he barketh round the Cage now the Lion is fast barred therein: we cannot conceive it to be our work to take notice of him, onely we will feel his pulse, to know of what temper he is of; we find him rightly principled for the intended Tyranny, in the 1. place we will match him with *Julian the Apostate*, Who when any of the Christians complained unto him. saith he, *Why complain you, your God commandeth you patiently to bear all evils, reproaches and indignities; if one cheek be struk, turn the other.* So saith this nameless and senselesse Authour of this Letter, admit he hath defamed you (meaning Major *Packer* defaming his *Lilburn*) saith he, is that Christian like for you to do so and so, by him, yea, he might as well have said, *John Lilburn*, it is Christian like for thee to submit to God, to the Gaolers, it being the will of the Tyrants, and their earnest desire and your duty to submit to the higher powers. Though it be the duty of a Christian to submit it to all such things that shall be done in opposition of that truth which he professeth in the name of Christ, yet that doth not bind him up from defending either his life, good name, or Estate in a civil respect. He hath another expression that seemeth very strange, wherein he complaineth of Mr. *Lilburns* popularity, and saith, that with his clouted shoes, blue aprons and private Souldiers, threaten disturbance, it appeareth suddenly what temper this Authour is of: he cannot but know, that the persons now, whose greatnesse hath been, and will be the cause of much trouble: They we say, ascended by popularity to that greatnesse they now are at, he hath one claw more where hee taketh exceptions at the Subscription of *John Lilburn* in a Letter to *Cromwell*, where he subscribeth himself *sturdy John Lilburne*: saith he *The law of England hath onely branded beggars and Rogues with the name sturdy, therefore saith he, you have not to boast therein*: he doth not rightly understand the meaning of the Law in this point; which is, that no person that is sturdy or able for employment should be suffered to beg; for under colour thereof, they committed Robberies, and divers outrages: so that impotent men were suffered to take an alms, in regard there was not that danger in them, neither could they do much mischief as 18. E. 12. c. 22. H. 8.

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CROPPED PAGES

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Lastly, saith he, it may be that God may say, I have afflicted my servant *John Lilburn* and he is not yet humbled; we believe that this generation that afflicteth *John Lilburn* God hath sent as he sent the Devill to afflict *Job*: so hath he sent them, and set them up to be a scourge to the Nation as well as to *John Lilburn*: but we have faith to believe that God will also cast them downe. In the next sheet, we shall shew you the designe that they have to lay aside Tryals by Juries, and upon it give you our Observations.

Reader, We desire thee to be content with the Errata's that escape the presse, there are many in the third part of the pollitick Informer, in a case of *Littletons*, especially of estates upon condition, that and the rest shall in the sixth part be corrected by an Errata; one thing more we would entreat thee not to censure the Politick Informer, for inclining either to one faction or another, assure thee his principles are right, for a true and just government of a Common wealth, by a people representative, annually elected, as we shall plainly demonstrate in the ensuing works; yet in the former part there may be some probable ground to believe he enclineth to monarchy; we assure thee he doth not in the least incline to it; but he's of opinion, that no one ought to usurp supreme power; neither ought any person or persons to have it above one year: it is not the work of one that undertaketh politick observations to incline any way, but onely to discover the reasons of state, the proper tendencie, the end and aim that these corrupt persons, that have now Usurped and assumed the Supreme power to the great detriment of the people of England: it was not the way of *Tacitus Live* or of *subtacitus tranquillionis*, or any pollitick Historian to encline to speak or write in favour of either *Galba Otha*, or *Vitellias*; but to unmask and unrobe the state of things, to declare the truth; so shall it be our work to discover the high designs on foot, which is to rob and destroy the Rights, Priviledges, Estates, and Lives of the people of England; which we mentioned of the perfidious dealing with the King, was not that we did it in favour of him: we do acknowledge he did deserve death, but we affirm it ought to have been another way, as is shewn in the first part of this Work, the Mirror, cap. 1. and Section 2. Affirmeth that the Kings were sworn to be ruled and governed by the same Law that he should rule and govern by; we do not acknowledge that any thing is to rule but Law, in which it may be said God ruleth.

Reader, The tumult in *Pauls Church-yard*, Sunday 6 of *October*, is to be feared was set on foot by *Cromwell*, thereby to take an occasion to question the Lord Mayor, and alter the government of the City [*Nero set on, fired Rome, and laid it on the Christians; he thereby did punish Rome, and took an occasion to persecute the Christians*] We shall in our next give you our farther thoughts therein, and an accompt how they have laid the plot to do it: that a Colonel may be your Mayor, the Pikes your Aldermen, and Muskettiers your Common Councel; we shall also discover to you the dangerousnesse, hellishnesse, and wickedness of the designe of the present power, in their intended taking away of Forest Land, wherein they will destroy nigh foure hundred thousand people of *England*, and after they have ruined them make use of them to destroy the rich, that thereby they may support themselves in their Tyranny; though they make use of one party to destroy another: witnesse the contention at present, betwixt the Citizens of *London* and their Lord Mayor, whose year being near expired, denies the delivery of the Collar of *Essex* with the City Plate and Hangings, (but he were much engaged to his Coachman or else he had got enough of that) with the rest of the City goods, which goes from one Mayor to another; and this is, as they say, because they will not allow him all the mony which two of his Brethren should have had towards their Mayoraltries if they had not laid down their Cloates before; besides he had or would have turned out the foure Clerks belonging unto the City; and all this is done by instigation from our Grandees at *White-hall*, who made him put by the tryall of the souldier, who set the Pistoll to one of the Sheriffs breasts the sixth of *October*; but more of this in the next.

*Actob: 31*

F I N I S. 1653

THE  
C R O W N E  
OF  
R I G H T E O U S N E S :  
O R,

The glorious Reward of FIDELITY  
In the Discharge of our DUTY.

As it was laid forth in a Sermon, pre-  
ached in *S. Botolphs Aldersgate,*  
*London, Sept. 25. 1653.*

At the solemn Funerall of Mr. *Abrah: Wheelock, B. D.*  
The first Publick Professor, and Reader of *Arabick,*  
and of the *Saxon*, in the University of  
*C A M B R I D G E.*

Whereunto is added,  
An *ENCOMIUM* of HIM.

By *WILLIAM SCLATER* Doctor in Divinity,  
Now Preacher of the Word of God in *Broad-street, Lond.*

*D A N. 12.3.*

*They that be wise [or, Teachers] shall shine as the brightness of the  
Firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the  
Starres, for ever and ever.*

*C. 1654: 31*

*L O N D O N,*

Printed by *J. G.* for *John Clarke*, and are to be sold at his Shop  
under *S. Peter's Church* in *Cornhill. 1654.*

C R O W N

RIGHT OF

the glorious Crown of Great Britain

As it was sold for a 2nd time

in 1801 to the British Museum

As the British Museum is now

the property of the British Museum

As the British Museum is now

the property of the British Museum

The British Museum is now

the property of the British Museum

The British Museum is now

the property of the British Museum



To the Right Worshipfull *Thomas Adams*, Esq.

Alderman of the City of London, a Patron of  
Learning, and a Patterne of True Piety,  
the eternity of Happiness.

Worthy Sir,



**T**hat which I have in my inward thoughts secretly wished for, the Divine Providence hath now (by an unexpected Act) presented to my hands; a seasonable opportunity, wherein I might make you some more than a private Testimony of my acknowledgements, for your personall regards to my selfe; and withall, as publick as might be, for your munificence to my ever honoured Mother, the University of Cambridge; where, for above twenty years last past (out of a pure glory to God, in the advancing the Oriental Learning) you erected, and ever since continued, at your own proper cost, an Arabick Lecture; the praise whereof were a task more meet (I confesse) for an elegant Orator chosen by her selfe, than for one of my so retired, and obnubilated a condition.

The much lamented decease of the learned Professor, Mr. Abraham Wheelock, who read it, (and of whom a more full mention is made in the close) gave occasion to this sudden Sermon; which being through a vehement importunity, extorted from me, beyond all imagination of mine own, after preaching, and so put to the Press; there could be no more proper Patron for it thought upon, than your self, of whom I have many things to say, but that I am overwhelmed with copiousness of matter; there being no spiritual, or good gift wherein you are, as S. Paul said of his Converts, the Corinthians, a behind, yea wherein you do not excell: your very outward presence, as some rare beneficent star, appearing with a desired and pleasing influence, winneth you a venerable observance of all Orthodox Christians, and good men; who cannot depart from you but much improved, and made better by your most eximious, and transcendent example in \* all piety towards God, & equity towards men: I need not mention your Ethicks, or moral part, sith if the vigorous exercise of all the vertues were not interrupted only, but lost elsewhere, it might be all repaired from your † accurate practise: in your religious part an Israelite indeed, without faction, without ostentation: your soule is made the c Temple for the Holy

A 2

Spirit

1 Cor. 1. 7

\* Luk. 1. 6.

Act. 24. 16

† Eph. 5.

15.

2 Cor. 13. 5.

b) Joh. 1. 47

c) 1 Cor. 3.

16.

# The Epistle Dedicatory.

d Cant. 4.  
16.  
e Rom. 12.  
13.  
f Rom. 16.  
23.  
g 1 Thel.  
5. 12, 13.  
1 Tim. 5.  
17.  
h Pl. 12. 1.  
i A. 2. 6. 7  
m 1 Cor.  
16. 19.  
n Plal. 118.  
15.  
o Gal. 5. 6.  
p 1 Tim.  
6. 18.  
r 2 Cor. 9.  
13.  
Prov. 11.  
25.  
s 2 Cor. 9.  
7.  
t A. 10. 2.  
u Job. 31. 1.  
20.  
w 2 Tim.  
1. 16. 18.  
\* εὐχαρισ-  
τίας αὐτοῦ  
of χάριτος  
a curious  
Knot.  
x 1 Pet. 5. 5  
y 1 Pet. 3. 8  
z 1 Cor. 6. 6  
Col. 3. 13.  
a. Pet. 1. 7.  
b Ro. 12. 16.  
c Pro. 31. 26  
d Phil. 1. 13  
e 1 Ti. 3. 5.  
f Mat. 24.  
g Tit. 2. 102

Spirit to dwell in by his graces, which are diffused in so delectable a variety; that, as those fragrant spices, upon which the South Winds blew in the Garden of the spouse, they d flow out, and are become as a sweet perfume to attract Observers.

To men of learning & known Mucenas, you, a Sanctuary; To Gods faithfull Ministers an e hospitable t Gaius, a bountifull, and a most encouraging Benefactor, & esteeming them highly in love for their works sake: of all Gods k publike Ordinances a dms honourer, a most conscientious l frequenter: In private also the devotion of your house hath made it an house of m devotion, where, like the double motion of the lungs, what is drawn in by prayers, is breathed forth again in n prayes and thanksgiving: Your faith is operative o working by love, expressed p in rich t liberality towards every good work, full of s cheerfull t Almes. giving; the u loynes of the poore and naked blesse you in the streets, and the bowels of many w refreshed by your hands, as S. Paul's were by Onesiphorus, occasion uncessant prayers for you: And that which yet adds a beauty to all the rest, and proves alwayes as the most rich, and fairest \* knot, decking the garment of oher graces, is your great x humility, attended with all y courteous affability, and most z kind a condescensions; as in whose lips is the b law of kindness, and in whose life a c shining exemplar of the d power of godliness, and all solid Christianity.

All which considered, my weak endeavours cannot but triumph in such a protection, which now they shrowd themselves under, not doubting to speed the better for the Name of the Patron: The discourse, I acknowledge, is impolite, yet Orthodox, I hope, and Theologically substantiall, the subject matter is no less, than of a Crown of Righteousness; so that however, as it comes from me, it casteth no great lustre outwardly, yet much what like to the stone Garamantides, intus habet aureas guttas, it hath drops of gold within it selfe, enriching the believing soule with the hopes, and assured expectation of a joyfull reward of its fidelity in Gods service by a blissfull immortality.

Unto the certain fruition Whereof, that you, and with your selfe all yours, all your relations, yea, all Gods e elect by Christ, may, after you have yet continued longer to t adorn the Gospel be at last advanced, is, and ever shall be the most constant prayer of, Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant to be commanded in the Lord Christ, *Will: Sclater.*

2 TIM. 4. 7, 8.

*I have fought a good fight, I have finished  
my course, I have kept the Faith:  
Henceforth there is laid up for me a  
Crowne of Righteousnesse, which the  
Lord, the Righteous Judge, shall give  
me at that Day: and not to me only, but  
unto them also who love his Appearing.*



Shall not deteine you by any impertinent  
Preface, sith the shortnesse of time for  
this Service, together with the indulgence  
of this so Learned an Auditory, anticipates  
an Apology, and gives hopes of much  
Candor, under so manifold Impræpara-  
tions.

And so I addresse my selfe to the serious  
businesse of my Text; The scope whereof amounts to this  
summe, Namely, to comfort *Timothy* about the nigh approach  
of Saint *Paul's* Martyrdome, mentioned, *ver. 6.* The argu-  
ments of Consolation are two, each depending on the other.  
1. The first taken from his Holy course of life, constantly conti-  
nued, comfortably finished, *ver. 7.* 2. The second, from the  
B certainty

\* 1 Thel.  
2. 11.  
\* 1 Thel.  
4. 13.  
b Gen. 49.  
1. 2.  
e Deut. 31.  
2.  
d Act. 21.  
13.  
e 1 Thel.  
1. 10.  
f Rom. 9.  
1.  
g 1 Pet. 1.  
17.  
h 2 Tim.  
4. 18.  
i 1 Cor. 1. 8.  
1 Thel. 3.  
13.  
k 1 Cor. 2.  
9.  
l Heb. 11.  
40.  
m Phil. 1.  
23.  
n Psal. 16.  
11.  
o Act. 2. 20.  
p 2 Tim.  
1. 2. and  
3. 1.  
q Phil. 2.  
22.  
r 1 Cor. 9.  
25.  
2 Tim. 2.  
5.  
s Rom. 8.  
37.  
t 2 Cor. 10.  
14. 16.  
Gal. 1. 16.  
u 1 Cor. 9.  
17.

certainly of his Blessed estate, assured to him after this Life, ver. 8. And indeed, the Apostle seems to put on him the affection of a dying \* Father, willing to inhibit, or at least to moderate the passions (which like Ambergreese may doe well in a compound of grace) of his indeared children, encompassing, as b *Jacobs* Sons, his Death-bed; as if he had thus e dropt his words upon them: *What doe ye thus & weeping, and breaking my Heart?* e God, my owne f Conscience, your selves are witnesses, how holily, and without crime, I have g passed the time of my sojourning here, God, by his grace hath (according to his promise) h preserved me i blamelesse unto the end: You know what happy things he hath k prepared for them that love him, into the l Beginnings whereof my Soule shall enter, at my m Dissolution; the n fulnesse, and consummation I expect at that great and o notable day of the generall Resurrection, and Retribution: Right so the Apostle here, to the same effect, to comfort *Timothy*, whom (having p begotten him spiritually through the Gospell, to the Faith of Christ) he found even as a Naturall q Son, with his Father most affectionately tender, obedient and observant, unto his very last expiration: I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand; (yet neverthelesse be comforted, for) I have fought a good fight, &c. and henceforth, there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousnesse, &c. This for the Context, and scope of this Scripture.

*I have fought a good fight.*] The expression is borrowed from those who strive for r masteryes, and after a sharpe encounter, or heate of Contention, doe at last prove s Conquerors.

*I have finished my Course,*] id est. *Cursum certaminis, qualis est eorum, qui in stadio currunt*, as *Estim* expounds it; The speech being taken from such as runne in a race, who give not out till the prize be obtained, see 1 Cor. 9. 24, 25, 26. *I have kept the Faith.*] That is, That Fidelity, or trust, and faithfulness, which he had constantly made good in the discharge of his Apostleship, and Ministry, in preaching the Gospell far and neere, throughout many t Regions, from the time of the first Commission of the same, unto his u Dispensation: The

Apostle



Apostle in his owne practise, accomplishing that, which he required in all other the Stewards of like sacred Mysteries, 1 Cor. 4. 2. for this also, he gave God thanks; for counting him faithfull, in putting him into the Ministry, committing the glorious Gospell unto his trust, 1 Tim. 1. 11. 12. upon which he was assured of his, *Engē, Bone serve, & fidelis. Well done, good and faithfull Servant, enter into thy Masters joy.* Ere I come to the more particular elucidation of the parts, I may not omit to mention those queries, and resolutions, which some of the antient Fathers have not unprofitably raised, and given upon these words.

1 Thel.  
2. 4.  
Mat. 25.  
11.

The first whereof is this; *whether Saint Paul did not, under this profession, boast in a kind of vaunting ostentation?*

Quæst. 1.

Ans. To this Saint Chrysostome makes answer thus; ἐμ-  
γαληγοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀνίστας τὸν παῖδα, καὶ παραμυθίζῃ· ταῦτα ἔ-  
γχετο. He doth not magnifie himselfe, or boast in any way of  
vaine-glorious & Ostentation, (a sin which, else where, he ex-  
treamely cautions against, Phil. 2. 3. Gal. 2. 16.) but they are  
the words of a Saint, uttered in a modest, meek, and humble  
protestation, whereby he owneth the graces of God within  
him, and gives all the \* glory in their vigorous exercise, to God  
the Originall Fountaine, and bestower of them.

Ans.  
y S. Chrys.  
in Loc.  
2 Non has  
jactantia  
verba sunt,  
sed bone  
Conscien-  
tia, Erius  
ad Loc.  
1 Cor. 10.  
31.

Quæst. *Whether Saint Paul did well to Commemorate, and make mention of his gracious Actions, and good Deeds?*

Quæst. 2.

Ans. To which Saint Gregory makes answer thus; *Fas est  
viris sanctis in morte recordari, imo & recolere virtutes visa  
acta, &c.* It is lawfull for Holy men, and Saints of God, in  
Death to recollect, and to recount the vertuous deeds of their  
former lives past; Not indeed, as an occasion of exaltation in  
themselves for the same; But, *Ut fiduciam prabeant, & de-  
sperantem timorem premant,* for the suppression of feare, and  
Desperation, in the last Houre; in as much as good workes are  
the \* fruit of a saving Faith; that, as Faith justifies the person  
in a Correlation to Christs merits, (it as an hand & receiving,  
apprehending, and applying them as all-sufficient to the soule)  
so good workes (being the way to eternall life, Eph. 2. 10.)  
Declaratively, and Praesentially justifie the Faith, shewing it

Ans.

a Jam. 2.  
18.  
b Rom. 5.  
17.  
λαμβάν-  
οντες.

c Vera fides  
viva est,  
Nec potest  
esse otiosa.  
Juell. in  
Apolog.  
d Gal. 5. 6.  
e Rom. 13.  
8.  
f 1 Ioh. 3.  
14.

not to be Counterfeit or dead, but Reall, and living; It being the innate property of such a Faith to be vivacious, manifesting it selfe in its godly Operations: Hence was the saying of the Schoole Divines, that *Charitas was forma virtutum*, Charity (which is the summe of the Law) consisting in love towards God, for his own sake, and towards our Neighbour, for Gods sake, it was the Forme of the Theologicall Vertues; Not but that Faith, and Hope, and other graces of the Spirit, have their owne severall and particular Formes, which doe specifically forme them to their owne Identicall Natures, and diversifie them from others, so that Faith is not Hope, nor Hope is not Charity; but for that love, doth as it were, forme them to acceptability before God, to this purpose may be applicable that practise of zealous *Nehemiah*, Chap. 13. 14. *Remember me, O my God,* (saith he) concerning this, and wipe not out my good Deeds, that I have done for the House of my God, and for the Offices thereof: and the like is that we also read of good King *Hezekiah*, upon a Summons to Death, *Isa. 38. 3.* And he said, *Remember now, O Lord, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee, in Truth, and with a perfect Heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight.*

Quæ. 3.

A third Quærie is, *Whether Saint Paul spake all this, as out of a selfe-confidence, without having an eye to Gods Divine assistance therein?*

Ans.

Ans. To which, saith venerable *Bede*, *Ab sit ut tantus Doctor ignoraverit legem Dei*, *Deut. 8. 17.* God forbid that so great a Doctor should be unacquainted with the word of God, which teacheth utterly to disclaime all selfe-power, though it were but to become wealthy, or potent, even in things Temporall; yea, himselfe seriously acknowledgeth all spirituall sufficiency to be of God, *2 Cor. 3. 5.* evermore ascribing the totall of his supernaturalls to the free grace of Christ, *1 Cor. 15. 10.* through whose strength alone it was that he discharged his Trust in the Gospell, and went through with all other gracious performances, *Phil. 4. 13.*

Quæ. 4.

The fourth, and last Quærie is, *How Saint Paul came to know so assuredly, that there was a Crowne of Righteousnesse laid up for him in Heaven?*

Ans.

*Ans.* To which some answer, That he had it by Revelation extraordinary, as an Apostolicall priviledge daigned to him from God, the better to chear him on in the course of the Gospell; and to steele his resolutions against all opposers of the glorious Truth therein revealed: or, as *Anselme* thus, He had that assurance, *Non replenissimâ, sed spe firmissimâ*: grounded upon a firme hope, and expectation: But of this more anon.

*Ans.*

Having thus pointed at the Quæries: I come now to the more particular handling of the words, out of which I observe two generall parts.

1. A solemne Profession of the discharge of his Office, *verse 7.*

2. A large Remuneration, and Reward of that Discharge, *verse 8.*

In the former, we have 1. The Person, *I.* 2. His Act, *fought.* 3. The object of that Act, *A fight.* 4. The quality of that fight, *A [good] fight.* 5. The time of all this, noted from the expression in the *Præter tense*, *I [have] fought* ἡγώνησα καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ὁ ἀγαθός, *I have fought a good fight*: the rest of the words in this verse I take to be, upon the matter, but as the exegesis, and exposition of the former.

In the second maine part, The reward; We have it amplified. 1. By the Donor, or bestower of it, The Lord, described here by a Periphrasis, and styled, ὁ Νίκαις καὶ ὁ νικῶν, *The Righteous Judge.* 2. By the Title given to it, *A Crowne of Righteousnesse.* 3. By the manner of it, *it is laid up.* 4. By the time, of Donation, *In that Day.* 5. By the persons to whom bestowed, *To Paul himselfe*; and that, not by any restrictive enclosure, as if onely to himselfe, and to none other besides; but by a farther expansion, it reacheth unto others with himselfe; provided they be found under due qualification of loving the appearance of the Judge; Not unto me onely, but unto them also that love his appearing.

These, at least, as to my observation, are the parts of this Scripture; which being so many, I must be constrained, as the Disciples passing through the Corne-fields upon the Sabbath day, ἡλάνθον τὰς σάββους, to pluck but an eare, & or two of the choycest

5 Mar. 2.  
23.

choycest notice ; or as some Lapidaries of rich Jewells are wont, shew them onely in a short cursory view, and so lay them up againe.

The first words, *I have fought a good fight*, admit of a divers Interpretations, yet each of them suitable to the Analogy, and \* proportion of Faith.

\* Rom. 12.  
6.

They may then be taken, either as the expression of Saint Paul himselfe, *quatenus Apostolus*, as under the notion of an Apostle : or else as a Christian, in the condition with other Members of the Church of Christ with himselfe, for that we read in the close of the eighth verse, *The Crowne of Righteousnesse was laid up for all that loved the appearing of the Lord.*

b Magalianus, ad  
Loc.

If we take them in the former sense, then from the first particular, *The Person* ; The note of b Magalian is apposite, *Sum Paulus Dux fuit, & antesignanus eorum qua praeceperat* ; That we looke at Saint Paul as an Exemplary leader to all his successors, (though indeed not in an Apostolicall Latitude, yet) in the office, and worke it selfe of the Ministry, practically first doing what he would have others to observe in, and about the dispensation of the Gospell : see *Phil. 4. 9.* And this was our Saviours owne Course, *Act. 1. 1.* He began to doe and Teach, first to doe, and then to Teach ; its noted by *Barradius* upon that Prophecie, *Isa. 9. 6.* which had relation to our Saviour, it was said, *The Government should be upon his shoulders*, intimating, that himselfe would first beare in his owne person, what he intended to impose upon others, to wit, in things capable of Imitation ; even as he said unto *John Baptist*, when he tender'd himselfe to be Baptized of him, and he in an humble renuence grew shy, as deeming himselfe unworthy of so great an Honour, *Mat. 3. 15.* *Suffer it to be so now*, saith he, *for thus it becommeth us to fulfill all Righteousnesse* ; *Hec est enim Insuperia, ut quod alterum facere velis, prior ipse incipias, & tuo alios horteris exemplo*, as Saint i Ambrose expounds the words ; This was righteousness, that is, an equal, and just thing, that what thou wouldst have another to observe, and do, thou thy selfe shouldest first exemplifie in thine owne actions suitably ; whereunto was that serious advise of S. Paul unto his Son *Timothy*, *2 Tim. 4. 16.*

i S. Am-  
brosius in  
Luc.

Take



Take heed unto thy selfe, and unto thy Doctrine, for so thou shalt both save thy selfe, and those that heare thee; Where the chiefeft heed was to be given to himself: Truly spake & Saint Gregory, *cum Imperio docetur, quod prius agitur, quàm dicatur*, Then shall we with Authority speake what we doe, when we doe what we speake: But this is a Discourse fitter for a Visitation, than a Funerall; were it not, that it is at the obsequies of such a worthy Divine, (for whom we now performe this last Christian good office) whose practise herein was an accurate Comment upon the whole speech.

k Saint Gregory in Job 23.

From the second and third particular, (in this acception of the words) its obvious to every apprehension, that the worke of the Ministry is a Fighting, yea, a continuall Warfare: so Bruno, and with him<sup>1</sup> *Espeus* observes, that where the Verbe and Substantive run in the same termes, one conducing to, the other to perfect the Emphasis of the expression, there is evermore a [Frequency] of that Act implied: I should but cast drops into the Ocean, to endeavour a large proof of so clear a Truth: Whilest *Noah*, both by his Lips and by his Hands (in building the Arke) was a Preacher of Righteousnesse, in the old world, was it not thus? whilst the spirit of God (in his Ministry) strove with the obstinate corruptions of that wicked world, what aspersions, what oppositions, what misusages, and abuses had the Prophets in their dayes, being derided, traduced, & misused, insulted on, even for the Conscientious discharge of their Function? The pretious Sons of *Sion* comparable to fine Gold, how were they esteemed as earthen Pitchers, the worke of the hands of the Potter? *Lam.* 4. 2. And, who knowes not the exact accomplishment of old *Simeons* Prophecy of our Saviour himselfe, *Luke* 2. 34. How he was set for a signe, which was and should be, spoken against, *ἡς ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ ἔσται σημεῖον*, for a signe of contradiction, he should be as a common marke, whereat the arrowes of reproach shall be fully shot: Of all the Holy Apostles its noted, *1 Cor.* 4. 13. They were made as the filth of the world, and the off-scouring of all things continually; *καθάρματα*, signifieth that refection, which is seraped from the dirty pavement, from whence the shooes gather defilement; and *μεταλάματα*, it being a word

l *Espeus* ad Loc.  
m *Heb.* 11  
7.  
n 2 *Pet.* 2  
5.  
o *Gen.* 6.  
3.  
p *Ier.* 10.  
7.  
q 2 *Chr.* 0.  
36. 16.  
Maa 23.  
37.  
r In *signum* contradic-  
tibile. Tert.  
de Carne  
Christi,  
cap. 18.  
11. 8. 13.  
s *Ilirio*.  
Bishop  
Hall in  
Paraphr:  
*Piscator*  
et *Franciscus* Lu-  
cas.  
Confer.  
*Lam.* 3.  
45.

word in a Composition, carryes with it the greater Emphasis, and denotes the polluted rakeings of the streets, fit for nothing but the common Dunghill; In so low a state of abjection, and in so vile an esteem were those very Ambassadors of Heaven, among an Atheisticall and w crooked generation: our very Apostle here professeth, 1 Cor. 15. 32. *That he fought with Beasts at Ephesus, ἰδνεομαχῶσα*, which some would have meant Literally, of his being dilaniated, and rent in his body, (as many Primitive Christians were in the first Cruell times of raging persecution) by wilde Beasts. to which *Nero*, that *Dedicator Damnationis*, x as *Tertullian* styles him, being himselfe a Lyon, was wont Tyrannically to cast the bodies of the Christians: But others better, in my poore understanding, expound it of those Ethicall or Morall Beasts, who with *Demetrius*, and the rabble that cryed up the great *Diana* of the Idolatrous *Ephesians*, so violently withstood and opposed *Saint Paul*, who cryed downe that their abhominable superstition at *Ephesus*, *Act. 19.* in which place a great door, and effectuall was opened unto him, but there were many Adversaries, 1 Cor. 16. 8, 9. those Apostles indeed experimenting the proofoe of what their Lord and Master foretold them, that they must be sent forth even as Sheep among Wolves, who would attempt to teare them in pieces: and which of us in particular, encounters not his discouragements? Yea, woe is me! We seeme to be fallen into those times, wherein many men (as if directly infatuated from Heaven) out of a grosse misprision apprehend the Ministry it selfe the greatest inconvenience; and (that great cheat, that grand Pantomime of Christendome, the cunning Jesuit (now almost bare-fac'd) hath instilled (as is feared) so pernicious a principle into such as are (for ought we can see) willing to be deceived, as to question the office it selfe, and to dispute the Institution; as if they would have men scorne the Physitian when sickest, and shun the Chirurgion when sorest; And (which must not be forgotten) there are not wanting some, who are apt to charge on that sacred Calling, the occasion, if not the cause of all the Calamities of this latter Age: just as those of whom *Snidas* reports, that they were wont to write with Inke or blood on a glasse, and so set it against the Moon,

Moon, making all those spots or blurres that were in the glasse, to be in the Moon, and not at all in the glasse, upon which alone they were written: meane while, never at all anatomizing their owne Ulcerous, Corrupt insides, or repenting for their <sup>d</sup> loathsome selfe-abominations (and among them as principall, for the contempt of Gods faithfull Ministers.) Which sins becoming so Epidemicall, and Nationall, as they are, call for Wrath and Indignation from that Lord, who is here styled in my Text, *the Righteous Judge*. And yet, though this be a Fight, neverthelesse it is, for the quality, a [good] Fight, and that for these reasons;

d Prov. 13.  
5.  
Ezek. 36.  
31.

First of all, because its undertaken for the Faith of Christ, and for the Salvation of Soules, whereof even one single one is more worth than a whole World; O what comfort will it be, in the day of retribution, when a g faithfull Minister, after all his sharpe conflicts with the \* wayward oppositions of corrupt men, shall say; Loe me, and the <sup>b</sup> people, which thou hast given me, as the fruit of all my labour in thy Gospell, being able thus to give up an <sup>i</sup> account with joy, and not with griefe.

e 1 Tim. 6.  
12.  
f Mat. 16.  
26.  
g 1 Cor. 4.  
2.  
\* Aq. 2.  
40.  
b 1 Sa. 8. 18.  
Heb. 2. 13.  
i Heb. 13.  
17.

Secondly, Because its undertaken for a good reward, which is no lesse, than a Crowne of Righteousnesse; What S. Gregory said of afflictions for a good Conscience, will hold here alone, *Consideratio premii minuit vim flagelli*. The consideration of the Reward, abates of the Difficulty of the Fight; even so its noted of Moses, that having respect unto the recompense of the reward, he preferred the reproach of Christ to all the richest treasures in Egypt, Heb. 11. 26. the same was it likewise that animated that noble Prophet under all his discouragements, and fruitlesse endeavours among men, Isa. 49. 4. *I have laboured in vaine, and spent my time for nought, yet surely my judgement is with the Lord, and my worke, that is, the reward of my worke is with the Lord; who rewardeth his Ministers, secundum laborem*, though not *secundum proventum*, as S. Bernard speakes, according to their Labour, and pious endeavours, which themselves undergoe in the Gospell, though not according to the successe of their Labours, which is Gods alone to bestow.

k 1 Cor. 3.  
6.

And thus farre of the words, in their first acception, uttered by S. Paul as an Apostle.

I might next consider them also, as spoken in the name of all other Christians at large, even of all such as, who love the appearing of the Lord Christ Jesus at his comming.

And under that notion of them, we may observe, That the Life of a Christian is a continuall warfare upon the Earth, so *Chrysologus*, *Christiano militare est, id quod vivit in seculo*, suitably unto that of *Job*, Chap. 7. 1. Where the word rendered *an appointed time*, is by many translated a *warfare*, which was hinted to us in the first *enmity* between the two seeds; after againe, in *Esaie* and *Jacob* struggling together in the same wombe; and to this effect is that speech of our Saviour, *I came not to send Peace on the Earth, but War, Division and variance*, namely, between Grace and Corruption; which was experimented mightily in the breast of this our Apostle, when the Law in his Members rebelled against the Law of his Minde, *Rom. 7. 23.* it was *reus et adversarius*, a warring Law; and elsewhere he saith, *The flesh lusteth against the spirit, as the spirit lusteth against the flesh*, *Gal. 5. 17.* and to the same purpose also *Saint James*, Chap. 4. 1. *From whence come Warres, and Fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your Lusts, that Warre in your Members? Surely Contention comes from Corruption; see likewise, 1 Pet. 2. 11.*

Now, I might here take occasion to treat of the Doctrine of the spirituall Warfare, and pursuing the Metaphor, present you with those severall things that concur to make up a compleate Battaille; as 1. A Bickering, and encounter it selfe, *Nisi precesserit pugna non potest esse Victoria*, as *Saint Cyprian*, there cannot properly be said to be a Victory, where never was a fighting, *delicata iustatio est, ubi periculum non est*, its but a fond, or effeminate kinde of boasting of a Conquest, where never was danger. 2. In a Warre there must be Enemies, with whom to encounter, *quis enim certat nisi inimicum habet?* saith *Prossper*, there cannot be a Contention, where there is not an Adversary: Now in this Warfare, the great and the grand Adversary is the Devill, who, with an *ἐχθρὸς*, is styled *ἐσθλὸς*, The Adversary, *1 Pet. 5. 8. Iam. 4. 7.* He

Gen. 3. 15

Gen. 25

22.

Mat. 10.

34. 35.

S. Cypr.  
li de Mor-  
tal. c. 9.



is as the chiefe Champion, the World also and the Flesh asunder him ;

*Sunt tria que tentant Hominem, Mundus, Caro, Demon.*

And in relation to the severall Temptations of each of these, Schoolmen have given them distinct names, or Titles, being called by them, either *Obrepentes*, or *Ascendentes*, or *Immissa*: Those which are from the World seeme full of flattery, and creep on, after a sort, insensibly, and deceive us ; Those from the flesh ascend, as it were out of our selves, therefore the more dangerous, because the lesse perceptible, they being so pleasing to Corrupt Nature, and a selfe-snare : Those from the Devill are sent from without, with more vehemency, therefore called *βέλη*, Darts *καὶ τὰ βέλη*, *Ephes. 6. 16.* because cast into a man ; for in very deed the Devill knows no mans Heart, onely deales, at first, (till after farther experience) by Conjecture ; all which (if I had time) it were easie to inlarge upon. 3. In a Warre, there must be Armes, and Weapons ; and to furnish our selves with these, we have a full Armory, or panoply in the Holy Scriptures ; The whole armour of God we have for all sorts of Weapons, whether Offensive or Defensive, in *Ephes. 6. 13, 14. &c.* 4. There must be policies, or stratagems in War ; meanes to Circumvent, disappoint, over-reach, overthrow the Enemy, &c. These and many the like, are the parts to make up this spirituall warfare : all which must of necessity, (if, as it ought to be spoken to fully) will ingrosse more time, than I have left to goe through with my other businesse.

Wherefore, waving that so copious a Theame, at this present ; I proceed on now to the second generall part of my Division, which is the Remuneration, or reward of Saint Pauls fidelity in the discharge of his trust, in the Dispensation of the Gospel ; Henceforth is laid up for me a Crowne of Righteousnesse, &c.

Much (but that I study Brevity) might be said of the Dignity of this reward, it being stiled, a Crowne ; and largely also I might discourse of the certainty thereof proved, and assuredly to be made good, partly from the promise of God, of that faithfull God, who is ever mindfull of it, and never disappointeth a true believer of performance, namely so as he

ρ ὅτε λέ-  
γομεν ὅτι  
ὅλος τὸς  
λοισμὸς  
καὶ τὰς ἐν-  
θυμήσεις  
τῆς καρ-  
δίας ὁ-  
θεν ὁ Δι-  
άβολος.  
Macar.  
Homil.

92 Thef.  
33.  
Psal. 112.  
5.  
Heb. 10. 20

promiseth, *Esay 40.10. Behold, the Lord God will come with a strong hand, and his arme shall rule for him, behold his reward is with him.* See also *Isa. 62.11.* and *Psal. 31.19.* The Psalmist seemeth, after a sort, ravished, and in a kind of extasie, transported out of himselfe, in wonder at the meditation, *O how great is thy goodnesse which thou hast laid up for them that feare thee, which thou hast wrought for them that trust in thee, before the sonnes of men!* And elsewhere, *Psal. 58.11. Verily there is a reward for the righteous, doubtlesse he is a God that judgeth in the earth.* And *Heb. 6.10. God is not unrighteous to forget, &c.* nor was ever any mans labour (maugre the blasphemie of all those Infidels, *Mal. 3.14.*) in vaine in the Lord, *1 Cor. 15. 58.* See also *Rom. 2. 7.* And this is partly also to be made good from the meritorious expiation of the Lord Christ, the vertue whereof extended not onely to a deliverance from all paine and misery, which he purchased by his Passion; but also to the opening a way to everlasting happinesse, by his all-glorious Resurrection, and Ascension, *Rom. 8. 32. 2 Pet. 1. 11. Job. 14. 2.* And lastly, this may be collected likewise from the present afflictions of Gods servants, *2 Thes. 1. 5.* for else, as the present case now stands with them, they are in this life of all men else most miserable, *1 Cor. 15. 19.*

Now, the Schoolmen have reduced the summe of all the future Blessednesse, and Reward, unto two maine heads, which they stile, *Dotes anima, & Corporis;* as it were, the Dowries of the Soule and Body, both which, as they have beene sharers in obedience, so shall they also be in the Compensation of the just reward. Those of the Soule are these,

1 *Jo. 3. 2.*

11 *Cor. 13.*

12.

1. The cleare Vision of God, which they say is, *totam merces*, beholding him face to face, namely, so farre as a finite Being (for so our Humane Nature continues still, though glorified) may be capable to apprehend of that Majesty, which is Infinite; in this advanced condition, the Soule (which is here clogg'd, and drossy, and much pragravated by the Body, subject to corruption) shall beatifically see God, as he is, in the full splendor of his immortall glory; whereas beneath, it seeth onely in part, and knoweth but in part, nor can the greatest part of our sublunary knowledge, make up the least

part

part of our Ignorance; the discovery that we have now of Heaven, is but *ὡς κατ' ὀλίγη βραχίον*, as by reflexion from a glasse Darkely, being changed into the Image of God, by degrees, from one glory to another, 2 Cor. 3. 18. but then, all cloudes shall be dispelled, the Intellectuall eyes fully cleared up into a perfect and bright serenity, and withall enjoy a sweet oblectation, Contentation and Delight accompanying that inexpressible and blissefull Vision.

2. In the will, perfect fruition of the Divine glory, tention, and (for the measure of the Creature) Comprehension, a compleate assimilation, and likenesse to that glorious Majesty, in Holinesse and Righteousnesse; In those new Heavens dwelleth nothing but righteousness, 2 Pet. 3. 13.

3. In the whole Soule, *Joy unspeakable and full of glory*, 1 Pet. 1. 8. In the Body, 1. Impassibility, it is not, nor can be subject there to any Ach, Ague, or Paine, no discontenting or agonizing vexations whatsoever, *All Teares shall be wiped away from our eyes*, Rev. 7. 17. 2. Agility, expedite quicknesse, free from all manner of Lumpish ponderosity, or defatigation whatsoever; Yea moreover, perfect Clarity, and glorious splendor, such as the Sun it selfe, in its full Brightnesse partakes not of: Here below the Beauty of the Saints is shadowed, and much clouded, partly by the interposition of Hypocrisie (Copper often passing before weake eyes for Gold, Formality for Reality) eclipsing that *ὡς ἡλιμνεϊάν*, & simplicity which would both *ω* adorne the Gospell, and grace the purity of profession: partly also by afflictions, to which the godly are *α* appointed in this life, where *Christianus* is *quasi Crucianus*, and that, Baptisme of blood, and Suffering is made the character of a true Believer, as that of Water is of an outward visible Member of the Church: And partly also by Corruption, which like spriggs, or suckers sprouting forth even under the choicest grasse, will sometimes be shewing of it selfe in the defection of our best actions, yea, in some particulars of *ε* Exorbitancy; so that whereas, in these severall regards, the Beauty of the Saints is much obtenebrized, and obscured; yet then shall they *α* shine forth, *ἐκλάμψουσιν ὡς ἥλιος*, even as the Sun from out of a Cloud, in full clarity, and re-

*u* 2 Cor. 1.

12.

*ω* Tit. 2. 10

*x* A. 14.

12.

*y* Mat. 6.

12.

*ε* 1 Im. 3. 2

G. 1. 6. 1.

*α* Mat. 13. 1.

42.

\* Phil. 3.

21.

b Mat. 17. 4

Joh. 14. 2.

c μοῦσα,

ἐν τῷ

ἰσχυρῷ.

d 2 Pet. 1.

17.

fulgent \* glory; which was prafigured, after a fort, in that shining transfiguration of our Saviour upon the Mount, *Mat.* 17. When the vision was so glistering, and resplendent, that *Peter* could have beene contented, (though but from that glimpse of glory) to have erected a *b* Tabernacle, for a farther sight and Contemplation, he found it so sweet, that it was good to be there longer. 3. Lastly, To all this may be added Immortality, as the Diamond set in the ring of all the rest, there Mortality hath put on Immortality, the Body never more, after it is cloathed upon therewith, being subject unto Corruption, Death it selfe is then struck dead, and swallowed up in a finall Victory unto all Eternity: To which purpose ye may doe well to meditate at leisure those very apposite and pertinent Scriptures, *1 Pet.* 5. 4. *2 Cor.* 5. 1. *Rev.* 2. 11. *1 Cor.* 15. 54, 55. compared with *Hos.* 13. 14. and to this purpose the places of blisse are styled *c* mansions, or abiding and resting places, *John* 14. 2.

And this is the reward, couched under this Metaphor of a Crowne, the Blisse whereof, indeed, transcends the skill, and tongue even of Angells themselves to expresse: Saint *Paul* speaking of the excellent goodnesse was treasured up, but in the gifts and graces of Regeneration in this life, saith even of them, that the naturall eye hath not Seene, nor the eare Heard, nor hath it entred into the Heart of an unspiritalized man, to conceive the things which God hath prepared for them that love him, *1 Cor.* 2. 9. Much lesse surely can this be done, in regard of the *d* Excellent glory above in Heaven; Wherefore the joy thereof being so incomprehensible, as it is, when it could not enter into the faithfull servant mentioned in the Gospel, then he was bid to enter into it, even into that joy of his Master, *Mat.* 25. 21. And thus farre of the remuneration it selfe at large, both in the Certainty and the Dignity thereof, It is a Crowne of Righteousnesse.

I come next to consider the Donor, or the Bestower of the same, the Lord, set forth unto us here, under the periphrasis of being *e* δίκαιος κριτής, *The Righteous Judge*.

Where note, saith the Roman Catholique, that the Reward is a Reward of Justice, not of favour, rendered as a due debt,

not



not given as a gratuitous benevolence, so *Cajetan* on the Text, *Dicendo, redder Justus Index, debitum jui significat*; and, so by consequent, the good workes, to which its rendered, are properly meritorious, and God shall be unjust if he deny them his due reward, even due of debt: But whilst these overweening spiders suck poyson, the Humble Bees draw honey from these fragrant and sweet flowers: To *Cajetan* (though none of the meanest Schoolmen) we may oppose *Primasius*, who hath this more solid expression, *quomodo ista corona debita redderetur, nisi primu illa gratuita donaretur*? How can that Crowne be said to be rendered as due, unlesse first it was bestowed as free? and againe, *opera Bona sunt Dei dona*, The Lord in crowning our good deeds, doth but reward us with his owne gifts; in this case we must be all constrained to say as *David*, on another occasion, *1 Chron. 29. 14. All things come of thee, and of thine owne have we given thee*; Wherefore, Saint Paul (the great Assertor of free grace) hath styled most fitly life eternall it selfe, (wherein consisteth the absolute consummation of all graces) *χάρισμα*, a free gift, *Rom. 6. 23.* a word not used in any Heathen Author, but peculiarized to the inspired penmen of Holy Writ; besides, the manner of the Apostles expression is very remarkable, even in this very Text, where the word *imponemus* [is laid up] and the other of *imponemus* [shall give] both these expressions imply a free Donation, no meritorious purchase at all; elsewhere, our reward in Heaven is called an Inheritance, *Ephes. 1. 14. Act. 26. 18.* which is a thing comming freely by descent unto the rightfull Heyre: Moreover, workes meritorious, according to the determination of the Patrons of merit themselves; They must be, *1. Nostra*, our owne workes, wrought out of our owne strength, and done by our owne power, whereas the Evangelicall Prophet hath otherwise assured us, *Isa. 26. 12. Thou O Lord, saith he, hast wrought all our workes in us*, He meanes, gracious workes: Alas, we are not such Silkwormes as to spin a thred of Felicity out of our owne bowells; we must remember that the highest stile, which the Scripture gives the Saints, is but to be; Messells of Salvation, to receive the graces of God distilled into them from above; Not Springs or Fountaines to derive them to our selves;

e Tanquam  
filius grat  
iae B ad  
wardin. de  
S. Paulo.  
f 2 Tim.  
3. 16.  
2 Pet. 1. 11  
g Act. 9. 15.  
2 Tim. 2.  
20.  
h Rom. 5.  
17.  
i Our  
heart is as  
barren of  
any good,  
as they re  
port; the  
Isle of  
Palmos is,  
where no  
thing will  
grow, but  
on earth  
that is  
brought  
from other  
places.  
D. Strong-  
son.

selves; and by the very Schoolmen themselves, the graces of the Spirit are called, *Habitus infusi*, Habits, not acquiste by frequent Acts, as morall vertues are, but infused by God into the Heart, *Every good and perfect gift descending from above*, as Saint James saith, *Jam. 1. 17*. Yea, it was the positive assertion of our Saviour himselſe, *John 15. 5*. *Without me ye can doe nothing*, He meanes & Acceptably; He doth not ſay, as Saint Austin obſerves, *sine me difficulter poteſtis*, or, *non poteſtis perficere*, *without me ye can hardly doe any thing*, or, *ye are not able to bring any all unto perfection*, but ſimply, and expreſſely thus, *Without me*, that is, without leaning upon me, having my ſpeciall and gracious aſſiſtance, *Ye can doe nothing at all that is good and gracious*; and our Apoſtle alſo, elſewhere, profeſſeth, that all our ſufficiency, namely in things ſupernaturall, is meerly and ſolely of God alone; *2 Cor. 3. 5*. Therefore we may well conclude, that whatſoever good workes there are in us, they be none of our owne.

Secondly, As they muſt be our owne, ſo likewise are they, (in the ſenſe of thoſe grand Impoſtors of the Chriſtian world) to be perfect, as in which nothing is to be found defective, nothing redundant; whereas all our righteousneſſe, as it is inherent in us, Alas! it is but as a defiled, naſty, and polluted menſtruofity, *Iſa. 64. 6*. the higheſt pitch, or *ἀκμὴ* of perfection, that (whileſt we are clad with the raggs of our *vile* fleſh) we, the very beſt of us all, can attaine to in this life, is (as I have ſhewne *elsewhere*) but to ſee, and to acknowledge our imperfections; as in the cleareſt ſerenity of the Firmament, ſome ſpeckling cloud may be diſcovered, ſo in our moſt accurate and exact performances, either in the Matter, or in the Manner, or in the Degree, meaſure or end of doing, we all prove ſome way defective; even the very beſt things that we doe have enough in them to be pardoned, if the Lord ſhould diſcuſſe them without mercy in a rigorous ſeverity, and be ſo extreme as to mark what in them is done amiſſe: To this effect the forementioned School Divines have ſtyled the greateſt Saints, as they are yet Members but of the Church militant on earth, but *Viatores*, walkers in the way, whoſe motion is but only progreſſive, not Comprehensors, till actually inſtated Members of the Church Triumphant

k 1 Pet. 2. 5

l Cant. 8. 5

m Psal. 3.  
21.n See my  
Sermon,  
ſtyled, *The  
Remedy of  
Schisme*,  
preached  
at *Pauls*  
Lond. 1640  
p. 18, 19.o Psal. 130  
3.

phant above in glory, in the meane while, that maxime in Divinity is Orthodoxe and solid, *Successivorum non simul est esse, & perficere*, Those things which admit of a succession in their motion, or degrees of growth, their being and perfection is not all at once, nor altogether; wherefore our very Apostle elsewhere, *Phil. 3. 12. 15.* professeth, though he were perfect, in regard of sincerity and uprightnesse, yet not so, in regard of the full measure; He was so in respect of Parts, he was not so in respect of Degrees, therefore he said, that he had not as yet fully apprehended; *Fuit perfectus, spe futura glorificationis, Fuit Imperfectus, onere Corruptionis; Fuit perfectus, expectatione muneris; Fuit Imperfectus, fatigatione Certaminis*, as most appositely to our present purpose, *p. Fulgentius*: perfect he was, in the Hope of future Glorification: he was imperfect, under the burthen of present corruption; He was perfect in the expectation of his reward, but yet imperfect being tyred under the great conflict, and encounter that he had with the opposers of the Gospell of Truth; compleate perfection he professed not; much lesse may others, so farre inferior unto so great, and most illustrious a Saint, as *S. Paul* was.

p. Fulgent.  
lib. 1. ad  
Monim.

3. Workes meritorious, as they must be our owne and perfect, so also (in their sense) *Indebita*, more than due, supererogatory transcending the Command; whereas (proud Catharists and brittle pot-sherds as they are) they might observe what the great Law-giver hath declared in that Case, *Luk. 17. 10.* When we have done all that we are able to doe, we remaine still most defective, and most unprofitable servants, and have at the utmost (if we could reach to that) done but duty.

4. Lastly, Workes meritorious must be *proportionata ad mercedem*, exactly proportionable unto the just Reward; but surely if (as they cannot) our Passions, and Sufferings cannot equall the Reward, much lesse can our Actions, or our imperfect doings; sweetly singeth the Psalmist, God Crowneeth indeed, but it is in his owne mere mercy, and loving kindnesse, not for any possible desert in the primest Creature; yea, it's a maxime in the very Schoolmen themselves, That *Principium meriti prius est merito*, and that *principium* is Gods free Grate, Mercy, favour.

q. Rom. 8.  
18.

Meritū me-  
um misera-  
tio Domini.  
Be. a.

D

So

Quer.

So then, yeild all this : But, *How then is it free, and yet a Reward of Justice ?*

Answ.

r S. Aug.  
de verb.  
Apost.  
Serm. 16.  
Debitor  
Deus factus  
est, Non  
aliquid à  
nobis acci-  
piendo, sed  
quod ei pla-  
cuit pro-  
mittendo.  
illo ergo  
modo possumus  
exigere Domi-  
num no-  
strum, ut  
dicamus,  
Redde quod  
promissisti,  
quia feci-  
mus quod  
iussisti, &  
hoc tu fe-  
cisti, qui la-  
borantes  
iussisti.  
Non dici-  
mus Deo,  
Redde, quia  
accepisti;  
sed redde,  
quia pro-  
misti.  
Gonr. Die-  
teric. Dn. 9  
post Trin.  
in Fine.

Answ. Some answer thus, namely, by understanding Justice, in this Text, of Gods Fidelity, and faithfulness in keeping promise, as in that Text, 1 *Iohn* 1. 9. where *misericordia* & *fiducia* are joyned together, if we confesse our sinnes, God is faithfull and Just to forgive us our sinnes: And in this sense, (rightly apprehended) its true indeed, to say that its *Debita merces*. A reward of Debt, because God hath, after a sort, bound himselfe by his owne promise to give it unto us; *Promittendo se fieri Debitorem*, saith *Augustine*, he hath made himselfe a Debtor to his Church by promise, in which only regard it is, that we may *exigere Dominum*, as he speaks, urge and presse the Lord upon his word, so we reade the Church under affliction did, *Ier. 14. 21. Remember, breake not thy Covenant with us*; compare herewith, *Neh. 1. 8. Dent. 9. 5.* Others more directly give us this answer; *Eternall life*, is in respect of us, *charisma*, a mere Gratuity, or free gift; But in respect of the personall merit of Christ, its a reward of Justice; The Lord Christ Jesus having purchased unto all his true Believers, by his Humiliation and Obedience, this Crowne of their Imputative righteousness, how imperfect soever their owne personall Righteousnesse was: And from this title of the Lord, his being a righteous Judge, all his faithfull Servants may assuredly rest upon the Infalibility of the reward of their Service and Fidelity, sith the Lords owne word, Equity and faithfulness is engaged for it; Surely he is faithful who hath promised, *Hab. 10. 23.* nor can he faile or deny himselfe, *2 Tim. 2. 13.* Yea, he himselfe is our shield and our exceeding great reward; *Gen. 15. 1.* and indeed, in enjoying God, we enjoy all happinesse, and soule-satisfying Contentation; wherefore its not impertinently observed by the Hebrews, that in the Essentiall Name of God *יהוה* all the Letters are *Littera quiescentes*, Letters of Rest, to denote, that without God there can be no solid joy, or quietnesse of Soule, which will still be tossed in a kinde of restless inconsistency, till it doe indeed terminate at last in him; which made that man, so much after Gods owne heart (as in a flame of fervent zeale) experimentally to put the question, *Psal. 73. 25. Whom have I in Heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.* The



The next particular that falls under my consideration is the time of donation, when this Reward is to be actually conferred, expressed to be [in That Day, and at the Lords appearing.]

These, latter times, into which the ends of the world are fallen, abounding (as men in old age) with variety of phancies, have given us occasion to enquire, what Day of the Lords appearance it is, which is here meant? whether it be the great and notable day of the last generall Judgement; or else of some other manifestation of the Lord Christ upon earth, before that last day of all doth come?

There are some (otherwise abundantly knowing) whose wits have herein proved more wanton, than their judgements solid, whose apprehensions have led them to conjecture, if not to believe an appearance of the Lord Christ personally, in a way of raigne and triumph, to be manifested upon earth, a thousand years before the last day of the Generall Judgement: such, in the Greek expression, are called *Chiliassts*, and by the Latines, *Milkenaryes*: some have fetched the name, and conceit so high as from *Cerintus*, a blasphemous Heretick, even in the dayes of the Apostles themselves, who daringly avouching the Lord Christ to be no more than a meer man, and borne after the common way of humane generation (which gave occasion to S. *John*, that soaring Eagle, to write that his so sublime Gospel, wherein, in the very entrance of it (He proves his Divine Nature) He gave out, that after the resurrection, there should be in the great City *Jerusalem*, an outward way of pomp, and a kinde of voluptuous indulgence to corporall vanities, and delights, during the terme of a thousand yeares; which opinion He was thought to have sucked from the Breasts of the Jewish Synagogue, that people mistaking the nature and quality of Christs Kingdome, thinking it to be after an externall glory, and not (as it is indeed) consistting within, in the soule, after a spirituall manner, ruling and raigning over the spirituall part of man: But this Blasphemer being exploded, and cryed down by all the Primitively-Orthodox Fathers, and Christians, as the Histories of those Times informe us.

The next, who most clearly speak of it, or was, indeed, supposed the first who more directly vented the opinion, was one

1 Tim. 4.  
1. and  
2 Tim. 3.  
1.  
1 Cor.  
10. 11.  
a *Mundum*  
*sanctum*,  
*passim*  
*phantasias*.  
Gerson.  
w A. 2.  
10.  
2 Tit. 4. 1.  
a Joh. 6.  
19. 40. 41.  
y *Phil. Aug.*  
lib. 10.  
De Civ.  
De c. 7  
Philast.  
c. 59.  
De Heret.  
w Aug.  
De Heret.  
c. 8.  
t *Euseb.*  
1 c. 25.  
Hisor.  
Ecclesiast.  
a *Exch. 1.*  
10.  
b Joh. 1. 1.  
2. &c.  
c Mat. 26.  
21.  
A. 2. 6.  
d Luk. 17  
21.  
e Rom. 14.  
17.

f Euseb.  
l. 3. c. 36.  
Ecc. Hist.  
g Justin:  
Martyr,  
Dialog.  
Cum Tri-  
phon Jud:  
pag. 239  
h Baron: in  
Annal.  
Ann: 118.  
sect. 2.  
i Hieron.  
in Catalog.  
illustr. cap.  
de Papiā.  
j Tertul. l.  
3. aduers.  
Marc. c. 24.  
k Lactant.  
l. 7. c. 24.  
l. Institut.  
m 3 Epist.  
John 9.  
n Re. 10. 6.  
o Re. 14. 13.  
p Job: Ge-  
rard, loc.  
com. T. 9.  
q 7. sect. 80.  
r See Bish.  
Hall in his  
Revelation:  
unrevealed,  
edit. 1650.  
D. Prid:  
serm. on  
1 Pet. 3. 13.  
& serm. on  
Joh. 6. 14.  
Per. Dem.  
of Probl.  
vid. Diccer.  
In die fest.  
Bar. Ap.p.

*Papias* Bishop of *Hieropolis*, as *Eusebius* acquaints us, a man of a weak and slender judgement, who if not utterly neglecting, yet but slightly valuing the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, pretended for his conceit, Apostolicall Traditions; and by reason of the venerable name of Antiquity, it is not to be denyed, but that some of the ancient Fathers received some tang of the same opinion from him, as may be seen, or collected of *Justin Martyr*, and in the end of *Trajan's* time *Apollinaris*, *Tertullian* (too much misled by *Montane* and *Lactantius*) who were in part spiced with this Millenarisme; so perilous a thing, it proves to the Supine, and out of a secure or carelesse disregard, to suffer Humane Tradition to become a *Diotrephes*, and to have the preheminence above the infallibility of the undoubted Scriptures; which sacred, and unerring written Word of God doth hold forth (as of certaine credibility inspired by the Divine, and first verity that can never deceive, no such clear truth, that the Lord Christ shall in Person before the General Resurrection, come visibly, and corporally upon the earth, and as by a first resurrection cause all those who dyed in, and for him, to arise, and with him in a peacefull tranquility, and glory to reigne, and to beare sway over the wicked, as Vassals, for a thousand yeares; which date of time being expired, immediately shall ensue the General Resurrection, and the day of the last Judgement. No such evidentiall verity is demonstrated in Holy Writ, as of Absolute Necessity to be believed unto salvation: But whatsoever is alledged out of the propheticke Scriptures for the stablishing of that opinion, is to be understood, either of the first coming of Christ in the flesh, or of the state of the N. T. in generall; or else, of the glorious estate of the Church triumphant to be expected hereafter in the eternall Kingdome for ever in Heaven, as *Gerard* judiciously: I have not time to alledge, or you patience to heare, on this occasion, the severall Texts cited by the Chiliaists, or of the Orthodox; many reverend, and renowned Divines have eased us all of that labour; let it suffice, at the present, to take notice, from our Saviours own lips, that *his Kingdome is not of this world*, *John* 18. 36. but *within us*, *Luke* 17. 21. and *from Heaven*; and besides, we finde, in our Creed (which is founded on the

the Scriptures, and may in every article thereof be proved by them) we finde, I say, in our Creed, mention made but of two visible comings of Christ, the first in Humility to suffer, and to be judged; the other, at the end of the world, but not before) in the glory of his Father, to judge the world, both quick and dead in righteousness; and unto them that look for him, saith the great Apostle, shall he appear, the [second] time, without sinne, that is, without suffering any more as a sacrifice for sin unto salvation, Heb. 9. 28.

Leaving then those Millenarian conjectures to such as abound with leisure; rest we in the solid determination of Orthodox, and stable judgements, who resolve by the day, and by the appearing here mentioned in this text, to be meant the last great day of the generall Judgment, according to that Scripture Acts 17. 31. and the Lord Christ his second coming upon that day, in glorious Majesty, unto the judgement of all the world: so that however, those who labour in the Word and Doctrine, meet often with so great discouragements, that they seem to labour all in vaine, and spend their strength for nought, as the Prophet speaks Isa. 49. 4. yet surely their judgement is with the Lord, and their works, that is, the reward of their work is with the Lord; his goodnesse is laid up for them; O how great! Psal. 31. 19. In the mean time, let it be our delight and contentment that we do our Masters work, not as by constraint, but willingly; sith indeed such a vertuous service ever carryeth its owne reward with it, as being a thing to be desired, and embraced for its own worth; and certainly that sweet comfort, and complacency that a righteous soule findeth in the sincere discharge of his duty (within its proper station) in conscience of God, is infinitely more valuable than all the treasures the earth can afford without it; only, as the Husbandman, we may not anticipate the season of the Harvest, but we must wait, & then in due time, we shall reap, if we faint not, Gal. 6. 9. Heb. 10. 36. 37. & when the reward actually cometh, it (being so large) will abundantly recompence all our work, yea, end all our patience too; sith the manner of it will be the more manifest, and conspicuous before all in that great day, when all, of all sorts, both great and small, shall upon the generall

7. 14. &c.  
vol. 4. Bul.  
l. 2. c. 11.  
contr.  
Anabapt.  
& sixt.  
Senenl. 6.  
Annot.  
347.

q Art. 6. of  
the Ch: of  
England.  
r Phil. 2. 8.  
Mat. 21. 5.  
s 2 Pet. 1.  
17.  
t Acts 17.  
31.  
u Tim. 4. 1.  
v 1 Pet. 4. 5.  
w See my  
Sermon,  
titled The  
Grand As-  
sises, pag.  
37. edit.  
1653.  
preached  
at Winches-  
ter.  
x 1 Tim.  
4. 1.  
y Mat. 25.  
31.  
z 1 Tim. 5.  
17.  
a Mat. 24.  
46.  
b 1 Pet. 5. 2.  
c H. b. 11.  
25.  
d Jam. 5. 7.  
e Rev. 22.  
12.

summons, stand before the last Tribunall, and then upon the appearance of the Chiefe Shepheard, we shall receive a Crowne of Glory that fadeth not away, 1 Pet. 5. 4.

Hereof S. Paul had a particular assurance in his owne person, when he saith, *Henceforth is laid up for [me] a Crowne of Righteousnesse*; and if for him, why may it not be also possible for others to be in like manner assured of the same, especially provided, that we are such as do love his appearing?

This question, I confesse, is solid, yet such, as wanteth not its intricacies: The Roman Catholicks in this controversie are wont to resolve thus, that indeed for so great a Saint, as S. Paul was, this assurance might be possible; yea, was attained to by Revelation extraordinary, by meanes of his *grades privilegiata*, his special and priviledged faith, which as an Apostle, and a chosen vessel of honour, he was endowed and adorned withall from Heaven; for that God had a great service for him to do, who was selected, as it were, to take up the Gauntlet in the quarrel of the Gospel, against the manifold, fierce, and potent Adversaries of the same, so that (as I said in the beginning) to Steele his resolution with the greater courage, he was fortified before-hand, and armed with an extraordinary assurance of a glorious reward, after his work, and warfaring therein was over: But now, whether this assurance be possible for an ordinary Christian, by the use of ordinary lawfull means to attaine, is the next disquisition? To which the resolution is affirmative, the thing is possible, though confessedly very difficult: and this possibility is both *Certitudine Objecti*, and also *Certitudine Subjecti*; both, as it is sure in it self, as it is determin'd by God; & likewise, in the particular evidence, & speciall experience of the same in the soule of a true believer: and this is proved, partly from those Scriptures, which exhort unto a diligent endeavour after it, 2 Pet. 1. 10. 2 Cor. 13. 5. Now, the nature of Evangelicall precepts, and exhortations, in a contradistinction to those of the Law, is, that they carry a spirit, a secret energy, vertue, and power with them, inabling, through grace, unto observation, therefore the Gospel is called a *life* and *spirit*, 2 Cor. 3. 6. and *I can do all things through Christ that strengthens me*, Phil. 4. 13. partly also, this is proved from one principall end

4 A& 9.  
19.  
e 2 Tim. 4.  
17.  
f 1 Cor.  
16. 9.

Quæ.

Answer.

g John 6.  
63.



end of the spirits Donation, his being given us, namely, *That we may know the things that are freely given unto us of God, and to co-witness with our spirits, that we are his Sons and Daughters,* 1 Cor. 2. 12. Rom. 8. 16. 1 John 5. 13. Thirdly, from the duties required of us, upon this account, as, *thankfulness,* Ephes. 1. 3. Col. 1. 12, 13. What wise man will give thanks for that, which he hath no certainty that he doth enjoy? this were for a man to boast of a false gift, as of a cloud without water: so likewise of Love, *we love God, because he first loved us,* 1 John 4. 19. in so freely giving his Son to us, *John* 3. 16. and together with him all things that do accompany salvation, *Rom.* 8. 32. even to be the Author of life and salvation unto all that obey him, *Heb.* 5. 9. And how come we to know of all this love, but by that experimentall prooffe thereof, that is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us? *Rom.* 5. 5. And lastly, by the examples of Saints that have had this assurance in themselves, as *Job* 19. 23. *Abraham,* *Rom.* 4. 21. and here, in my Text, *Saint Paul*, which eminent Saints were not set forth in Holy Writ, as Wonders, merely to be gazed at, but as Patternes of imitation; and though ordinary Christians and Saints cannot reach to the same steps, yet they may walk in the same path, and may possibly attaine, though not to the same measures, yet to the same soundnesse of perswasion; and indeed, as a reverend Divine observes its firmnesse, rather than fulnesse of assurance, (namely, in respect of adherence, or of recumbency) that the Saints in this life arrive unto, but to this firmnesse they may come by the use of the ordinary, and of the right means, as here *S. Paul* did, *fighting the good fight, by finishing his course, and by keeping the faith;* hereby, as by the ordinary meanes, he concluded (therein likewise shewing us an example) that from henceforth there was a Crowne of Righteousnesse laid up in Heaven for him, yea, and for all others with himselfe, who loved the appearing of the Lord Jesus.

But, though it be (cautionately understood) thus possible; notwithstanding it is very difficult, and hard to be attained, and that for many weighty, and important reasons. As

First, in regard of the difficulty to put a distinction between seeming Vertues, and real Graces, which are the signes, and fruits

b Prov. 25  
14.  
i Jud. v. 12

4 B. King,  
lect. 38. on  
Joan.

1 Phil. 1. 9,  
10.

\* Fallit  
enim viti-  
um proxi-  
mitate,  
boni.  
m Heb. 5:

14.

2 Tim.  
3. 4.

Jer. 17.  
9.

2 Cor. 11. 3.

2 Cor. 11  
14.

Prov. 3.  
5.

1 Thes.  
5. 21.

Rom. 12.  
1.

A 8. 17.  
11.

Gal. 5.  
19.

Jude 7.  
12.

fruits of Election, and which give the best evidence of glory; so that there needs much discussion, and an exact Spirit of Discerning, to put a Difference, and to discriminate the one from the other; yea, we are to take notice, that there are many Vices neere of kinne to many Vertues, and carry in semblance, a neare affinity, as it were, with them; There is, saith devout Bernard, *a minimum virtutis*, a certaine kinde of Vermilion, wherewith Satan paints over the outside of Vices, and makes them shew like Vertues, and but by an Eye and an Heart exercised in piety hardly discernable each from the other; thus Flattery sometimes carryes the style of affability; Covetousnesse of Frugality; Rashnesse of Fortitude; a Divellish Machiavelisme, of a lawfull policy; excesse and ryot, of good fellowship; and under this mistake of judgement, that is taken for zeale, which is nothing but an impetuous headinesse, or a fiery kinde of vehemency, that in stead of heating the house is apt to burne it; Thus in short, presumption passeth often for Faith, this being the guile of our hearts, and Satan complying with it, (who can transforme himselfe into an Angell of Light) and set a faire glosse upon naughty wares, making the tinsell of Hypocrisie to passe for the Silver of sincerity; we must not too much relye upon our owne Judgements in this matter, but bring things to the beame of the Sanctuary, and there prove and weigh them; the Word of God ever giveth right Judgement, and the searching hereinto, *John 5. 39.* and examining of these matters, hereby requiring great deliberation, this makes the assurance difficult, when the Evidence is perplexed, and not presently cleared.

Secondly, its hard, in regard of the plenty of Lusts, and of the workes of the flesh, which too much over-grow, and abound in every mans Heart; but graces are but rare, and come up thin, much chaffe and little solid graine; our graces are like Gideons Army, but a handfull in comparison, but our sinnes are like *Midianites*, Immerable as Grasshoppers; Hipps and Hawes (saith one) grow in every hedge, when choycer fruits are but in some few Gardens; and every soyle almost yelds stone, add rubbish, but Gold and precious stones are found in very few places. Now S. Peter, who exhorts to give diligence

to make Election sure, exhorts also, *2 Pet. 1. 5, 6.* to adde to Faith, Vertue, to Vertue, Knowledge, &c. a large enumeration, or induction of graces is required to clear up this assurance, and certainly that is a matter of no ease.

Thirdly, (that I may hasten) this is difficult, in regard of the great progresse, that an Hypocrite, or a Cast-away, may make in the wayes of Christianity, and yet never attaine to this assurance; He may have some degrees of Illumination, *Heb. 6. 4.* much like a Coruscation, that a suddaine flash of Lightning maketh in the Ayre; He may have good wishes as *Balaam*, *Numbers 23. 10.* A sight of sinne as *Cain* had, *Gen. 4. 13.* Confesse sinne as *Judas* did, *Matthew 27. 4.* have zeale as *Iehu* had, *2 Kings 10. 16.* in these, and in like other gifts may a very Cast-away make a great progresse; But no child of God can have any reall comfort in any thing, wherein he cannot say, he hath (yet) therein gone beyond a Cast-away; and yet, but in the ground, or rule, or end of doing, these things are hardly discernable each from other: All which, and much more that might be added to the same purpose, shew, though not the utter impossibility, yet surely the very great difficulty of attaining unto this assurance, that a man can say, as *S. Paul* doth here, in a particular application unto his soule, Christ loved [me] and gave himselfe for [me,] and henceforth is laid up for [me] a Crown of Righteousnesse.

*Gal. 2. 20.*

There yet remaines but one Pearle more in the Cabinet of this Text, which I shall onely offer to your short notice, and so conclude, it is that due qualification which renders other Christians, as well as it did *S. Paul*, capable of the Crown of Righteousnesse; they must be such, as who do love the Lord Christ's second appearing in the day of Judgement. And, indeed, it is the property of none but Saints, to love it, and long for it. See *Phil. 1. 23. Rev. 22. 20. Amen* even so, come Lord Jesus.

Some cautions, notwithstanding, must be here remembred, sith it's possible that times may fall out, when we tremble at the thought, or mention of it; as when conscience is wounded afresh with some gross act of sin: this made *David* afraid, yea, to roar out, and to make a noyse through the disquietnesse of his spirit, *Psal. 38. 8. Psal. 55. 2.* and, under that state of soul,

E

to

to begg earnestly to be spared, that he might recover strength (in Gods favour) before he went hence, and was no more, *Psal.* 39.13. or else, when the Lord shall, for divers ends and reasons, surcharge the soule and conscience with the sins of youth, for which, perhaps, men have not, as became them, been sufficiently humbled; thus, dealt he even with his servant *Job*, writing bitter things against him, *Job* 13.26. see also *Job* 1.6.4.

But, out of those cases, it is *proprium quarto modo*, onely the Saints love it, all such love it, and alwayes: and no merwaile, sith by this second coming, and appearance of Christ in the day of the last Judgement, they receive very great and inestimable benefits, such as are finall Redemption of the Body from corruption, *Rom.* 8.23. Freedome from the society of the wicked, which here *y* afflict the godly by their violation of Gods Law and Precepts; Deliverance, not onely from the *z* raigne, and *a* dominion, but even from the inhabitation and being of sin, which here they finde as a clogg, and a *b* burthen to *c* heavy for them, and so long to be rid of it, *Rom.* 7.24. and lastly, the beatifical *d* vision, and perfect fruition of the ever-blessed, and all-glorious Trinity, in the *e* Heavenly Hierusalem, among the innumerable company of Angels, being admitted to the generall Assembly, and Church of the first-borne, which are enrolled and written in Heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant; in whose *presence* there is *fulnesse* of joy, and at whose *right hand* are *pleasures* for evermore.

And thus, my brethren, after my measure, as I could (upon so short notice of about a day) though not so fully after my desires, as I would, in so great, so learned, and serious an Auditory, have I dispatched my discourse upon this Scripture; your candour will, I hope, connive at the want of polishing, and entertaine it as it is, according to the weight, and importance of the matter of it: And may the *g* God of all grace reap the *T*all *b* glory. *Amen.*

*y* *Psal.* 119.  
136.

*z* *Rom.* 6.  
12.

*a* *Psal.* 19.  
13.

*b* *Pf.* 38. 4.  
*c* *Mat.* 11.  
28.

*d* *Joh.* 3.  
2.

*e* *Heb.* 12.  
23, 24.

*f* *Psal.* 16.  
11.

*g* *1 Pet.* 5.  
10.

*b* *1 Tim.* 1.  
17.



AN ENCOMIUM of  
M. Abraham Wheelock, B. D.

Late Professor of Arabick and Saxon in Cambridge.

**A**S concerning our reverend, and learned Brother deceased, Mr. Abraham Wheelock, Batchelar in Divinity, many yeares fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge; I could seriously have wished that some silver Trumpet of that University (to which he was an ornament, within his station) had sounded out his Encomium upon this occasion: He was there best knowne, where Learning, of all sorts, is now in the Zenith, and the exquisite perfection in the Tongues (much advanced by his skill in the very Tropick of Cancer.

But, sith it is now fallen to my lot, I may more truly say of him, than *a* Paterculus did of *Æmilius* Paulus, Vir in tantum laudandus fuit, in quantum Virtus ipsa intelligi potest, He was a man to be praised, so farre as vertue it selfe can be understood, he therein, indeed, being as the Moon at the full.

For his Theologicall part, a Divine of Orthodox judgement, of a *a* godly, an *c* exemplary, and of a *i* winning conversation, & abhorring covetousnesse, who did both *ἐκδιδοῦν*, and also *ἐκδοποιεῖν*, rightly *b* divide that word of truth, after which he walked with *a* strait steps to his feet: wee might have read in his *\** pale countenance the expresse Characters of his unweari'd industry, and studies: *cujus* vultum nec fuscavit mæror, nec levigavit risus, as *S.<sup>t</sup> Bernard* wrote of his friend Malachy; he carried mortificati-

*a* Patere.  
Li.  
*b* Ecclef.  
50. 6.  
*c* Tit. 1. 9.  
*d* Tim. 3. 1.  
*e* 1 Tim.  
4. 12.  
*f* Prov. 11.  
30.  
Dan. 12.  
3.  
*i* Pet. 3. 1.  
*g* 1 Tim. 3.  
3.  
Heb. 13. 5.  
*b* 2 Tim. 1.  
15.  
*i* Heb. 12.  
13.  
*\** Noctur.  
nis juvat  
[impelle-  
scere] char-  
ris.  
*k* S. Bern.  
de Mac.

1 Tim. 3.

3.

ἀμαχ<sup>o</sup>  
Rom. 12.

13.

Pl. 122 6.

H. 6. 12.

14.

† Acts 24.

16.

m 1 Cor.

12. 28.

n 1 Cor.

14. 18.

o 2 Pet. 3.

16.

p D. Light-  
for Mr. of  
Katharine  
Hall in  
Cambridge  
in his  
Harmony.

q 1 Cor. 8.

1.

on in his very looks; continuing, without interruption, a constant and peacefull son of the Church of England: herein exercising Himselfe to have alwayes a † Conscience void of offence toward God, and toward men: Those γινωσκων, mentioned by the learned Apostle, in diversities, or kinds of Tongues, he was in much variety, from Heaven superlatively endowed with, by the gift of Gods spirit: He being so eminent a Linguist, he might have said (without envy, or disparagement to any be it spoken) I thank my God I speak with <sup>n</sup> Tongues more than most of them all, the intricacies whereof he had a faculty, and with all a facility both to find out, and to make pervious, elucidating what was obscure, enucleating what was hard, that as the Jewish Rabbins, so oft as they met with Texts, which were as S. Peter saith, of some things in S. Paul's Epistles, δυσινετα, o hard to be understood, out of which they could not extricate themselves, were wont to shut up all their discourse with this, Elias cum venerit, solvet dubia, Elias shall answer this doubts, when he comes; in like sort was he as another Elias to the doubts and difficulties of many, who (being p accurate in the Rabbinnicall Learning were very well able to judge gave him this testimony a good while since in print, that scarcely anything, that may, proved too hard for him, for his enodation or decision.

Yet one thing I cannot but observe to you of him whom I so well, and so long knew) and it is this, That whereas his experience found that sentence of Thucydides a most authentick verity. ἀπαιτα μὲν δόξῃ, ἀνομιὰς δ' ἄκρον ὄψιν the less the Art, usually the more the vaunting, but the more Ratiocination, the slower the Determination; suitably to that of the great Doctor of the Gentiles, ἀγροῖς ποσσὶν, unbalanced knowledge, like a bladder blowne up with wind, q puffed and swelled with ostentation; making many (out of

of an overweeming upon their superficial exallencies) as Antipheron Orietes (in Aristotle) to imagine, that every where they see their own shapes and pictures going before them; yet, that I say, which I observed remarkable, and worthy of universall imitation in him, was, under his many and exceeding abilities, his humble and exceeding modestie; so that others took more notice of him, than he did of himselfe; much like to the Violet, a flower of a sweet and delicious scent, yet groweth lowest in the Garden, covering its selfe often with its owne leaves: Howbeit, as the odoriferous fragrance thereof cannot but be discovered; so he, together with his accomplishments, could not be concealed; yea, as <sup>r</sup> Syracides said of Simon the Son of Onias, he was as the morning Star in the midst of a Cloud. His sufficiencies, and, withall, his integrity having made him thus known; to his custody, and over sights were committed the rich Treasures of Learning, laid up in the choice Library of the University of Cambridge: And about two and twenty yeares past, beyond his owne expectation, though not beyond his merit, he was chosen the first publique professor, and reader of Arabicke there; A Lecture first founded at the sole and proper charges of an eminent and truly religious Gentleman of this Citty of London (to which having, like himselfe, borne all the principall offices therein, he hath long been an honour) Mr. Alderm. Thomas Adams, who ever since continued it by his bounty to him, of full 40 l. per annum, constantly paid; for which munificent Act he deserves of all Schollars (whom ex nomine, he affectionately regardeth) an honorable mention, and of all learned posterity an everlasting memoriall. Et memorem famam qui bene gessit, habet. Ovid. To this worthy Citizen, of so high a reputation; must be added the example of a noble Knight, to whom, and to whose Heires (inheriting his lear-

<sup>r</sup> Eccles.  
50.6.

<sup>r</sup> Pl. 112.6.

<sup>r</sup> Gal. 22.

u χεν τὴς  
 παύσεως  
 ὡς τῆς  
 ἑστίας, ἢ τοῦ  
 ὕψους τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς τῆς  
 παλεῖκῆς  
 κληρονο-  
 μεῖν.  
 i Socra.  
 Vid 1 Reg.  
 5. 7.  
 \* Monu-  
 mentum  
 quasi moni-  
 mentum,  
 † Sr. John  
 Spelman.  
 \* M. Roger  
 Spelman.  
 w Virgil.  
 An.

x Ecclef.  
 12. 5.  
 y S. Ambr.  
 De obitu  
 Valentin.  
 Imper. S.  
 Aug. de  
 Bapt. l. 4.  
 c. 22.

ning and u vertues, as well as his lands) the Common wealth  
 of Literature rests deeply engaged, by name Sir Henry  
 Spelman (of pious memory) who, with great expence of  
 time and treasure, restored many precious monuments of  
 antiquity (very usefull to Gods Church, and very tart \* war-  
 nings to pitchy Sacriledge, from dust and obscurity, to beau-  
 ty and light: who, at his owne cost, first erected, about ten  
 yeares past, a Saxon Lecture in the same University, esta-  
 blishing it by an Annuall Pension of 20 l. which was secon-  
 ded by his learned † Son; and since, continued by his \* Grand-  
 child (a Gentleman of gallant ingenuity) so that what the  
 Poet said of the golden branch holds true in that Progeny,  
 w -- Uno avulso non deficit alter

Aureus, & simili frondescit virga metallo.

when one failes, another of the same metall buddeth forth,  
 and flourisheth: And this Lecture also was first publicly  
 read by this same Professor: Both which he discharged  
 with so compleat abilities, as found acceptance of all, ad-  
 miration in many, hopes of imitation but in a few. yet this  
 was not all, but as when the clouds are full, they drop down,  
 the eares shed, and the fountaines flow out; even so his  
 goodnesse became still diffusive, and was very communica-  
 tive to others, even to the most distant and remote Nations;  
 for which purpose he spent himselfe, as a candle in the soc-  
 ket, to the very last blaze, whilst he was here publishing the  
 foure Gospels of our Saviour, with acute and solid Annota-  
 tions, in the Persian Tongue; in the progresse of which  
 work, it pleased God to call him \* home to his happinesse  
 with himself in Heaven: but as S. y Ambrose writes of the  
 desire, and vowed resolution of Baptisme in Valentinian,  
 that being disappointed, by providence, of the Act thereof,  
 in respect of the outward signe, yet God giving him the  
 grace of that Sacrament, he was accepted as a Christian,

and



and as *S. James* (speaking of *Abraham's* attempt in offering his only Son, upon a Divine command, styleth it an actuell offering of him, for that in the serious preparation of his minde, he really, and fiducially intend'd it, though the story acquaints us, that the thing it selfe was prevented by an heavenly Angel: so the indefatigable endeavours of this pious undertaker are interpreted, as a full dispatch of that work, by his gracious God,

And that which yet farther adds a lustre to his praises, is, the ample Testimony given of him both Living, and Dying, by that oracle of all imaginable Learning, that full magazine of all sanctified Devotion, the glory of the Church of England, the wonder of Christendome, and the triumph of the holy Angels, who guard and protect him for good. *Dr. Usher*, the *L. Primare* of *Armagh*: as likewise by that famous Antiquary, and living Library, *Mr. Selden*, of whose transcendencies in the Orientall Tongues, and profundities, besides his Classicall Preheminence in all manner of History, and skill in the Lawes, &c. I might write even a voluminous Encomiastick, but that (through a secret consciousness of my own tenuity) I feare, that I should but darken so shining a Topaze by my rude polishing: Certes, its a verity, what from that Patriark of Philosophers (as that incomparable Writer of the Ecclesiasticall policy, *Mr. Hooker*, styles *Aristotle*) is received, τιμή ἐς τὴν τιμῶντι μάλλον ἢ ἐς τὴν τιμωμένῳ, honour reflects with beams of brightnesse, and splendor upon the person honoured, according as the dignity of the persons honouring is more conspicuous; such as of these now mentioned is, who, in their severall excellencies, have lighted up Tapers to the Christian world, for its illumination.

Such was the esteem of our Brother, whom, fith the world was not worthy of him, we finde as another *Enoch* a walking

2 *Jm* 2.  
21.

4 *Gen*. 22.  
11, 12.

b *Aristot.*  
in *Ethic.*

Non potest  
bonum non  
esse, qui bo-  
ni placet.

S. Bern. ep.

248.

c *Heb*. 11.

38.

d *Gen* 5.

24.

king

king with God, to be translated to his blisse, Heaven having gained a Saint triumphant, whilst we, for the present, misse him in the Church militans.

Misse him did I say? Yea, at this instant season, his losse is most considerable, there being so much need of his shoulder under that Herculean labour, and burthen, that now lyeth upon many worthy renowned Doctors, and eximious Divines, of this our Church of England, who are now about to publish the Holy Bible in a greater variety of Tongues, and Translations, than ever have been, hitherto, seen extant [together,] their Lamps, I trust, shall never want oyl, till that mangre the impostures of undermining Jesuitisme, of phrentick Anabaptisme, or of Atheisticall Barbarisme) both the Light, and the Heat of the <sup>c</sup> Sun of Righteousnesse Christ Iesus, hath enlighthened the eyes, and warmed the breasts of such as belong to Gods election, even unto the <sup>t</sup> ends of the earth.

I have onely thus much to adde farther, which also accumulates his commendations, that it may be well said of him, what is recorded of righteous Abel, Being dead, yet speaketh, <sup>ετι λαλειται</sup>, or, is yet spoken of. Nor can his memory die, whilst so many hopesfull plants of his setting, spring up after him, and daily grow famous in Cambridge: And which I much rejoyce that I have occasion to mention, (my selfe having beene sometimes a Member of that Society) the Palme for skill in the Orientall Languages may well be given to Kings Colledge; unto some present <sup>\*</sup> Fellowes whereof (having attained a large measure of perfection that way) the inspection and correction of the presse, to perfect the printing of the Persian Gospels, was wished, and much intrusted, by the deceased Professor.

And what shall I <sup>+</sup> more say? The time would faile me to mention the Catalogue of persons of <sup>+</sup> Note, who at the

Philip-

c Mal. 4.2.  
f Psal. 19.  
4, 5, 6.

g Heb. 11. 4.

\* M. Rich.  
Hum. Mr.  
H: Austin,  
&c.  
h Heb. 11.  
22.  
i Rom. 16.  
7.  
k Phil. 2.  
29. 1.

Philippians did Epaphroditus, honoured him living; and since his decease have testified their regards by becoming Benefactors to those of his nearest relations, as the learned Mr. Joh. Sadler, Master of Mag: Coll: in Cambridge, M. Cassels, and divers others of esteem among Schollars. But, quorsum hæc? to what purpose is all this profuse Panegyrick? may some Gallio say, one, I mean, who careth for none of those things; sith without humane Tongues, Arts, or Sciences, yea, without Schools, or Academyes, men may be all taught of God, and Heaven is self undoubtedly obtained: To such Julians, who would tumble down all Schooles of Learning, lest their Enthusiasticall irrationalities might be (as Nazianzen gives the reason of that Apostate) pierced thorow by sharp arrows <sup>m</sup> feathered from thence; to such I say, I would have the sin laid to their Hearts, though my charity prompts me to pray, as S. Stephen, that it may <sup>n</sup> not be laid to their charge.

We find mention made of the <sup>o</sup> place of the ancient Prophets, and of their Sons, and \* Children educated (no doubt) \* [under] them, and instructed in their way: we read even of our Saviour himself (in his youth) that he delighted to sit in the <sup>p</sup> midst of the Dr<sup>s</sup>. both hearing them, & asking them questions; though in him were <sup>q</sup> hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge: And S. Paul was frequent in School-disputations, A&. 19. 9. And whereas some have said, that many great Philosophers have bin very unsound in belief; It may be possible, when that skil is unsanctified; but otherwise, (without all controversie) many very sound in the Christian belief, have bin also great Philosophers: Moses was <sup>r</sup> learned in all the wisdom of Egypt; Daniel, of Chaldee; Job not unexpert in: Astronomy; <sup>s</sup> Jer. in the common Laws of his time, David in <sup>t</sup> Musique, <sup>x</sup> Paul in the Tongues, in <sup>y</sup> Poetry, and in all the knowledge both of Jewes and Gentiles;

1 A&. 18.  
17.

τοῖς  
αὐτῶν  
παισιν  
ἀλισκο-  
μαθα,  
Nazian.  
1 A&. 7 60  
o 2 Kings  
6. 1.

\* 2 Kings

9. 1.

\* See

1 Cor 14.

32.

p Luk. 2.

46.

q Col. 2. 3.

r A&s 7.

22.

s Dan 4.

t Job 38.

31. 32.

u Jer. 32.

44.

Am. 6. 5.

2 Sam. 13.

1.

x 1 Cor.

14. 18.

y A&. 17.

28.

Tit. 1. 12.

1 Kings  
5.10.

and the Histories of the Church acquaint us of Cyprian, Opratus, Lactantius, S. Chrysost. (a Father mightily taken with Aristophanes, and Lucian's Dialogues) and many others laden out of Egypt with the treasures, and spoils of that Learning, being better instructed for Gods service by those helps; as the Temple it selfe of God was forwarded in the structure and state thereof by the timber of Cedar and Firre that 2 Hiram (though an exotick Sidonian Prince) brought into that very building.

Joh. 10.  
16.

And, indeed, I am clearly of opinion, that the reason, why so few Jews are converted, is the too remiss regard of their Tongue, and Rabbinicall traditions, out of which (as Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius, and others, did in their dealing heretofore with Ethnicks) till the vanity of their owne grounds be declared, and convinced, there is not so apparent hope to win them over to become Christian: and it may be by a good providence (even for their sonsonable condition into the same sheepfold, under one and the same Shepherd, Christ Jesus) that their language and antiquities are now so much studied in our Universities, as scarcely, with more criticall accuratness, in any age.

It's true indeed, we shall be all taught of God, but it is immediately, and by the ordinary means. In what shall there be an attempt to inbill principles of Christianity into either Jewes, or other Pagan Infidels, till the Speech, or Language of both be understood, which without learning in the Tongues, cannot feasily be achieved: Herein our Brother (whose Obsequies we now solemnize) did excell, and so both doe and will others also, who had the happiness of his *Manuduction*.

FINIS

MUSEVM  
BRITAN  
NICVM



